

ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1846.

DE BOW'S REVIEW

INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES

ETC.



J. D. B. DE BOW, Editor and Proprietor.

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* The fall of New Orleans caused a temporary suspension of the REVIEW. The index of the last volume will be published at the close of this.

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ART. I.—EUROPEAN RECOGNITIONS.—THE EXPERIENCE OF OUR FATHERS.

(The publication of the following article, prepared in April last, has been delayed from unavoidable causes.—Editor.)

Hopes of early European recognition or of intervention in the matter of the blockade, which were at times raised very high, are dashed to the ground by the course of recent events, and by the Commissioner who has returned.* It is well that we are at last satisfied upon this important point, for nothing was so necessary to arouse everywhere the spirit of the people and to bring forth their strength and resources. Expectation of foreign aid has proved to be as disastrous as futile, and now, as in every other period of history, the demonstration is made that

"who would be free,
Themselves must strike the blow."

We accept and will improve upon the lesson.

*We heard Mr. Yancey's speech and conversed with him fully at New Orleans, on his return from Europe. He regarded an early recognition as improbable, and thought that nothing would be done in reference to the blockade, whilst it was possible to sustain the cotton manufacturers from absolute ruin. Great Britain regarded it a fair opportunity to build up her own cotton interest, and would not be grieved to see America exhausted in the contest. Neither side had any number of real friends in Europe. The North was hated and despised. Much ignorance prevailed in regard to the true state of things at the South. It was not believed that the Government could be reconstructed. The radical party favored reconstruction to save themselves at home. France would move sooner than England. The cotton question would in the end prove potential. Objection is made to Mr. Yancey's declaration that the tariff and not slavery caused the revolution. A profound analysis will show that he was right. Had the South not resisted and defeated this unequal legislation, the anti-slavery party would never have gone beyond its original contemptible proportions. It grew up from that struggle.

In such a juncture, there are thousands disposed to hold the Administration responsible for looking abroad too confidently, and as a necessary result, of making inadequate preparation at home. This is not altogether just. At the opening of the war there was not an individual in ten thousand, North or South, who did not believe, from experiences of the past, from the great interests that were to be promoted, from well known European antagonisms, that recognition was almost a matter of course. The Yankee press and Yankee writers at home and abroad told us this. The tone of the foreign journals foreshadowed it. Commercial interests involved seemed to render it imperative. King Cotton, the entire South had been taught to believe for the last third of a century, ruled the world and would be obeyed. A few formalities only had to be gone through with and the work was done. We well remember that when the first commission was nominated to Europe, the opinion prevailed everywhere that it was of no importance who were selected. Diplomatic tact, skill or experience were of no moment. Any clever gentlemen would answer to affix their names to documents which would almost be found ready prepared and awaiting their signatures.

Thus stood matters in the early part of last summer, and the public sentiment, which was then so strong, instead of giving way with the delays that ensued, grew stronger as reports were brought in of victories in Virginia, and reached its culminating point, on the happening of the Trent imbroglio.* Is it not unfair to censure the Government for yielding to and acting upon this sentiment? It was a reasonable and just one. Those who are in control of affairs, even when the ablest and the best, are but men like their fellows, are influenced by the same traditions, the same instincts, the same bias of education and experience. Their means of information may be greater, but in the instance before us, it happens that the information strengthened the conviction.

It is not our purpose at present to enter into a vindication of this Government. That will do for the future. The point is not so much to know now how we have been brought into our unhappy position and who is responsible for it, but *how we shall soonest be extricated!* People and government are alike deeply interested in this. We want armies; we want navies; we want transportation, provisions, supplies, nerve, courage, patience, endurance, patriotism, and unalterable determination to perish or be free! With these the cause is safe, whatever its past

*It is wonderful that our people should have been so much deceived in this affair. Our knowledge of Yankee character should have taught us to expect nothing except the unconditional and humiliating surrender, after all their boasting in and out of Congress, to John Bull, whenever he might see fit to make his demands at the mouth of the cannon. It was not so in the earlier days of the Republic. Imagine Mr. Madison, Mr. Webster or Mr. Calhoun called upon to prepare such a pusillanimous letter as that of Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons. Death would have been preferred by either. The Yankees with characteristic bravado threaten future revenge for this humiliation, but it remains to be seen if it can ever be inflicted.

omissions or mishaps, and without them the handwriting is already on the wall.*

The purpose of this article is to contrast the early diplomatic experience of our young republic with that of the old government when it occupied the same position, and there will, no doubt, be found much to comfort and assure us in the parallel.

We have before us a little volume entitled "Diplomacy of the Revolution," from the pen of a very enlightened and able gentleman of South Carolina, Wm. Henry Trescot, who was at one time Secretary of Legation to London, and more recently assistant Secretary of State to Mr. Buchanan, and whose ready talents we are sorry not to find again in the diplomatic service of the country. This work, together with some volumes of State papers and the several histories of the times, will furnish the material of what may follow.

The Congress of 1776 no sooner determined upon independence than it attention was turned to foreign alliances. The statesmen of that day were less influenced by the actual fact of the weakness of the Colonies in population and resources, than by broad and comprehensive views of a future, in which they seemed, as if by prescience, to behold a mighty nation rising into power and sweeping from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. There was a difference of opinion among these statesmen, as we find a difference of opinion to exist among the statesmen of our own times, in regard to the policy to be pursued. Some of them, and Dr. Franklin led, thought that "a virgin State should preserve the virgin character, and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others."† Others argued and argued wisely that "to send ministers to every great court in Europe, especially the maritime courts, to propose an acknowledgment of the independence of America, and treaties of amity and commerce, is no more than becomes us, and is our duty. It is perfectly consistent with the genuine system of American policy, and a piece of respect due from new nations to old ones."‡

*Those who employ themselves in active warfare upon the Administration, are misguided if in this they expect to promote the fortunes of the Confederacy. It is not a time for wrangling and discussion. With the enemy striking at every assailable point, and his great armies penetrating the country, patriotism requires that individual feelings should give way, and that all unite in a generous and cordial support to the authorities. Their interests and ours are the same, and there can be no doubt of their earnest desires and efforts to do the best for the interests of the country. Grant that they sometimes err, we may inform them, correct them, but always in the spirit of brotherhood and devotion. Hostility and abuse must only weaken them and us. It cannot remove the men who are in power. If removed it is not clear that we have better. Nothing but the most harmonious councils and the most heroic devotion to the great cause among the lowest and the highest, can carry us through the perils and trials which are at hand, and save the liberties and honors of the people. Shall we not exhibit these?

† Franklin's letter to Lee.—Trescot, page 16.

‡ Adams to Franklin.—Trescot, page 17.

There were not a few who believed that European Colonies, setting up for independence, could find little or no encouragement from nations having Colonial establishments. To these Mr. Adams replied, confining himself to France. The exultation of Britain, by her recent naval triumphs and the acquisition of Canada, etc., must be revolting to the feelings of Frenchmen. The rank and consideration of France were at stake. The dominions of France in the West Indies and the East Indies were at the mercy of Great Britain, and must remain so whilst North America belongs to Great Britain. Interest cannot lie. The interest of France is so obvious, and her motives so cogent, that nothing but a judicial infatuation of her councils could restrain her from embracing America. Thus it will be seen that the statesmen of the revolution reasoned and argued much the same as it is reasoned now. Surely interests which were then thought sufficient, would be regarded tenfold more so now, and the apathy and inaction of those who are so much interested must be ranked among the problems of history.

Mr. Adams, who led in the discussions of 1776, did not believe that it would be politic to enter into entangling European alliances, and thought that entire neutrality should be stipulated in all future compacts. It could never be our interest to see either France or England humiliated or destroyed, and a union with either would only place us in a position alike subordinate and mortifying. His views were condensed in a note made during the progress of the debate.

1. "No *political* connection (with France). Submit to none of her authority; receive no governors or officers from her.
2. "No military connection; receive no troops from her.
3. "Only a commercial connection—that is, make a treaty to receive her ships into our ports; let her engage to receive our ships into her ports; furnish us with arms, cannon, saltpetre, duck, steel, &c."

This was assuming high grounds. It evidenced apprehension that the cause would in effect be lost in changing one form of dependence for another, and evidenced too a degree of assurance in carrying through the revolution without external aid, which bordered upon temerity. One cannot but admire the heroism of the suggestion, (though it proved in the event impracticable and gave place to other councils,) when the then condition of the country is considered and the power and resources of the enemy. A little more of the same "back bone," to use a vulgar expression, is necessary now, for of a certainty the circumstances which surround us are, in every respect, more favorable than those which surrounded the mother republic. As our ancestors were, however, in the sequel forced to give way, materially, in their expectations and demands, it is not improbable that the same exigencies may await our own future. We should, at all events, be well prepared for them. Whilst it is the duty of our people to meet the struggle like men, relying upon their own arms and the justice of their cause, even to defeat and death, the path of duty will be equally clear, should the hour of dire necessity come. If slavery must be their fate, there will be something at least in having the choice

of masters. The mere suggestion will be sufficient to develop a meaning which is too painful to be amplified, and which, if we do our whole duty, will have no cause to be carried out.*

With the project of a treaty upon this restricted basis in their pockets, three commissioners repaired to the Court of Versailles, and

*At the opening of the Revolution the population of the Colonies was,

1775	Whites, 2,303,000
	Slaves 500,000
	Total, 2,803,000

The population of the Confederate States,

1860	Whites, 8,170,070
	Free Colored and Slaves, 3,857,761
	Total, 12,027,831

This includes Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, which have given us much aid, and cannot, at least, be considered as a source of any strength to the enemy. They require greater force to be kept in check than they furnish to his armies. Without these States we have a total population of over nine millions.

It is a problem, if we cannot better fight the numbers of the enemy, which are less than two to our one, than could our fathers fight the British! Proximity in the one case will not more than compensate for excess of strength in the other. We have too the advantages of a vast and thinly settled country, which our ancestors enjoyed, and a country which can be supported from its own resources, which the enemies cannot very long. The South exceeds the North in military aptitude and in the use of arms, as did the Colonists the mother country. The cause too of hearth and home is always stronger than that which nerves the invader. Our blacks being the productive force, represent a like force which must be kept at home by the enemy to till his soil. They must be counted as part of our available forces for defence. The population of the Confederate States in 1860 was as follows:

	White.	Colored.	Total.		White.	Colored.	Total.
Alabama,	529,167	435,132	964,296	S. Carol'a,	301,271	402,541	703,812
Arkansas,	327,323	111,104	435,427	Tennessee,	834,063	275,784	1,109,847
Florida,	78,686	61,753	140,439	Texas,	420,651	180,388	601,039
Georgia,	595,097	462,230	1,057,327	Virginia,	1,105,196	490,887	1,596,083
Kentucky,	930,223	225,490	1,155,713		8,170,070	3,857,761	12,027,831
Louisiana,	376,913	332,530	709,433				
Maryland,	599,846	87,188	687,034	Deducting Maryland, Missouri			
Miss'ppi,	354,699	436,696	791,395	and Kentucky,			3,016,064
Missouri,	1,058,352	114,955	1,173,317				
N. Carol'a,	661,586	331,081	992,667				9,011,767
Total United States, 1860,			31,429,891				
Confederate States, 1860,			12,027,831				

Excess United States, 19,402,060, or once and a half the population of the Confederate States!

Considering Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland as neutral, or affording strength to neither party, the population of the United States will be to that of the Confederate States in the proportion of a little over two to one. By the census of 1850, the white male population between the ages of fifteen and forty constituted twenty-two per cent. Upon this ratio, supposing (as is the fact concerning the increase since 1860) that we have now 6,000,000 whites, exclusive of the three border States, our effective male military force between the ages of fifteen and forty reaches 1,320,000. Most assuredly this number can and ought to be brought immediately into the field, under some well devised system of conscription, and it

on the last day of the year 1776 were admitted to an audience by Count Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France. The commissioners were Benjamin Franklin,* Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, and the Congress evinced its sagacity by selecting from among the ablest and most distinguished men which the continent had produced, whose reputation had reached Europe long in advance of them.

The first commissioners were authorized to concede nothing more than that in case of war between Great Britain and France, the United States should not assist the former, with men, money, ships or other contrabrand articles, and they were instructed to stipulate that France should not invade or possess New Britain, Canada, the islands, etc., as these were reserved for future alliance with the Confederacy. If France should get possession of any British Colony, its trade to the United States should be as free as between France and the United States, etc., etc.†

Instructions so stringent were, however, not seriously expected to be carried out, since it was obvious enough that they offered to France a very one-sided bargain. The boon of free trade, the only one conceded, was but a trifling offering from a nation which was but in the infancy of its resources, was covered with armies, was struggling for existence, and might at any moment be overwhelmed. Such trade, in the present condition of the Southern Confederacy, is a very different affair. Secret instructions were given to the commissioners to waive certain points, and they were told: "*It is highly probable that France means not to let the United States sink in the present contest, but as the difficulty of obtaining true accounts of our condition may cause an opinion to be entertained that we are able to support the war in our own strength and resources longer in fact than we can do, it will be proper*

will be adequate for all the demands which can possibly be made upon us by the Yankee Government. It will still leave for purposes of agriculture the entire black rural population of nearly 4,000,000, and nearly half a million of white males over forty years of age. If arms cannot be found for the entire force, pikes will be a good substitute, and the valor of our men will, in the event, be abundantly supplied from the armories of the enemy. A million of men in such a cause, and with such a country to defend, must be invincible. Why are they not in the field to-day, and when will they be?

*Mr. Adams never ceased to sneer at Dr. Franklin.

He says (Works, vol. 1, 664): "I am not ignorant that most of his positions and hypotheses have been controverted. * * * He had abilities for investigation, but after my acquaintance with him in Congress, &c., his excellence as a legislator, a politician or negotiator never appeared.

"No sentiment more weak and superficial was ever avowed by the most absurd philosopher, than some of his, particularly one that he procured to be inserted in the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, and for which he had such a fondness as to insert it in his will."

†Our ancestors attempted an offensive war, but gained nothing by it. The movement upon Canada was a failure. They had to come out of this Revolution without that desirable acquisition. A people deficient in the means of military preparation and supplies, and without a navy, cannot be powerful in offensive war, though irresistible at home.

for you to press for the immediate and explicit declaration of France in our favor, upon a suggestion that a re-union with Great Britain may be the consequence of delay."

This little extract from the secret journals of Congress is very important in showing that the high tone which our revolutionary fathers assumed at times in their public acts, was not supported by their secret feelings and conviction, and that they very fully realized the danger after all their struggles and sacrifices, they might fall short of securing independence. This will give comfort to many who despond now as reverses happen, and will strengthen the argument occasionally advanced, that Europe does not seriously intend that the breach in America shall be healed, but stays her intervention until such time when the parties shall have exhausted themselves, and the cause of the revolution shall have become desperate. In this view, whilst European nations will effect all that is desired, they can do it at the least cost and secure advantages to themselves, that in more prosperous fortunes would be impracticable. It is a dangerous game, however, for them to play, and now, as in the last century, they may find it necessary to abandon, if they have in fact attempted it."

The Count de Vergennes, unlike Lord Russel and M. Thouvenel, assured the commissioners of "the protection of his court, and that due consideration should be given to what was offered." This is a point in progress which we have not yet had, however unimportant. It was a reception of the rebel commissioners, though informal, which England could not readily forgive, and the refusal soon after by France to deliver up Mr. Deane, on the demand of the British Ambassador, as a rebel subject, was not calculated to allay the prejudice.

It can always be certainly assumed in public affairs, that nations will follow their interests, and when these interests can be substantially promoted, mere sentimentality will give way. It is therefore as proper in 1862, to consider carefully and estimate nicely the weight and balance of interest as it was in 1776. It is as important for us to consider the relation of European States, with the view of ascertaining what their conduct will probably be, as it was for our ancestors, and perhaps in both cases some remissness was at first but natural. France had at the former period been very recently humbled by the loss of

*The exports of the Colonies previous to the Revolution did not exceed £3,000,000, and the value of the imports averaged about £2,750,000 per annum. In 1771 the imports were from

Great Britain,	£1,604,975
South of Europe,	76,684
West Indies,	789,754
Africa,	151,998

£2,623,409

Pitkin's Statistics, page 16.

The commerce of the Confederate States when fairly opened again will reach eight hundred to a thousand million of dollars in exports and imports, which is fifty fold the entire commerce of the Colonies.

her American Colonies, and Mr. Trescot eloquently tells us "her pride found it a bitter reflection that the French flag no longer floated in sovereignty over lands consecrated by the chivalrous courage of Montcalm and illustrated by heroic enterprise of La Salle." She was now employed in nursing her strength and in reconstructing her navy, and Turgot warned against any course which might be the means of "eternizing her weakness by making a premature use of her strength."

A most remarkable paper prepared by the Count de Vergennes, even before the declaration of Independence, was submitted by his master to the consideration of the celebrated Turgot, Comptroller General of France. The memoir and report upon it evidence the selfish spirit which in nearly all cases forms the basis and rule of national action. It was first argued in the report as to the probable results of the contest. Either the Colonies would be conciliated and their demands acquiesced in, or they would be conquered, which would embolden the British Government to make an attack upon constitutional liberties at home. If defeated, that Government might look for indemnities at the expenses of France and Spain, and in the event, conciliate the Colonies by offering them the commerce of the conquered provinces. The success of the Colonies, though regarded upon the whole inevitable, was deemed to be a remote result.

Thus the whole subject was laid bare, and the interests of the infant republic constituted but a feather in the scale with these grave diplomats and dignitaries, who were called upon to decide in a matter of seeming life and death to it. Those in our midst simple enough to make calculation founded upon any other standard than that invoked by the Turgots and Vergennes will receive instruction and profit by the extract Mr. Trescot enables us to give from the elaborate report of M. Turgot. He says:

It appears to me that the event most desirable for the interest of the two crowns will be that England should overcome the resistance of her Colonies and force them to submit to her yoke, because if the Colonies should be subjugated only by the ruin of all their resources, England would lose the advantages which she has hitherto drawn from them, whether in peace by the increase of her commerce, or in war by the use she has made of the forces. If on the contrary, the Colonies reconciling themselves with England, preserve their wealth and population, they will also preserve their courage and desire of independence, and will compel England to use one portion of her forces to prevent their arising anew.

The report advised against a war with England, first because of the existing exhaustion of France, and second because it might afford a pretext for concession to the Colonies in order to gain time and mature the means of offensive action. What was recommended was consistent with the sternly selfish argument which supported it—"prepare for war, and in the meantime give secret assistance to the Colonies, in procuring munitions and money, without abandoning a position of neutrality or furnishing direct assistance."

The American ministers received, therefore, an offer of supplies, but though pressed anxiously by the home Government, by every packet, could make no further advances for many months towards a treaty.

The authority was even given them to offer the aid of their Government to France, for the conquest of the West Indies, and to Spain for the subjugation of Portugal; but both Governments proved to be immovable. This is the most melancholy and humiliating chapter in the history of the old republic. Says Mr. Trescot:

The negotiation, therefore, dragged slowly; the duties of the Commissioners were confined to pressing upon the attention of the French Ministry the necessity of prompt and public assistance, employing such opportunities as occurred for the supply of munitions, and using their personal influence wherever it reached in correcting false impressions of their country, government and cause. But they evinced as much wisdom in restraining as in acting, until the news of Burgoyne's surrender, which reached France in December, 1777, wrought an immediate and most important change in the conduct of the French court.—P. 39.

A new era happily dawned on the fortunes of the republic, with the success of its armies in the field. The commissioners raised their heads and used bolder language. They were no longer to be humiliated by delays. The intentions of France and Spain must be declared. They received an audience from M. Gerard, and were made the happiest of men by the decision to which the king had arrived.* They were told,

That after a long and full consideration of our affairs and propositions in council, it was decided, and his Majesty was determined, to acknowledge our independence, and make a treaty with us of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage would be taken of our present situation to obtain terms from us which otherwise would not be convenient for us to agree to: his Majesty desiring that the treaty once made should be durable, and our amity subsist for ever; which could not be expected if each nation did not find its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was, therefore, his intention that the terms of the treaty should be such as we might be willing to agree to if our State had been long since established and in the fullness of strength and power, and such as we shall approve of when that time shall come. That his Majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support our independence by every means in his power: that in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, with all the expenses, risks and damages, usually attending it, yet he should not expect any compensation from us on that account, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes; since, besides his real good will, it was manifestly the interest of France that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it. He should, moreover, not so much as insist that, if he engaged in a war with England on our account, we should not make a separate peace. He would have us be at full liberty to make a peace for ourselves whenever good and advantageous terms were offered us. The only condition he should require and rely on would be this, that we, in no peace to be made with England, should give up our independence and return to the obedience of that Government†.—Pp. 41-2.

On the sixth of February, 1778, nineteen months after the Declara-

*On the announcement of the French treaty, propositions for peace were at once introduced into Parliament, which were powerfully opposed by Chatham. "To protract the war (said the peace party), with France as a party to it, would involve an immense expenditure, whilst it could only serve to aggravate the quarrel, to embitter the Americans, and to bring them under the influence of France."—Hildreth's History U. S., vol. iii., p. 247.

†Diplomat. Corresp., vol. i., p. 356. Commissioners to Committee of Foreign Affairs, 18th Dec., 1777.

tion of Independence and nearly fifteen months after the arrival of the first commission in France, two treaties of commerce and alliance were signed; the former adopting very nearly the suggestions of Congress, but the latter differing widely from them. The United States were to be put upon the footing of the most favored nations, and all questions of contraband, prizes and the right of search would be broadly and liberally construed. The alliance was to be *both military and political*.^{*} It recognized the independence of the Colonies, and provided for a combination of military movements—stipulated for the division of conquests, and that peace should only be made upon joint consultation. It guaranteed the possessions of the contracting parties, and provided for the admission of other powers whose interests should become involved. Canada, and other British Provinces at the North, if conquered, should be confederated with the United States, and France renounced forever the Bermudas, and such possessions as were British before or by virtue of the treaty of 1765. Conquests in the West Indies were reserved to France.[†] Remarking upon this treaty, Mr. Trescot says:

In the whole course of the negotiation which preceded and accompanied the treaty of 1778, the American Government never asked, and the French Government never offered, any peculiar sympathy for republican institutions. As to the character of the new Government, all that was asked was, "Is it efficient to execute its plans, and stable to fulfill its promises?" The statesmen of the Revolution wanted no recognition of their republicanism; that was their affair. They asked only the acknowledgment of their independence; that they felt to be the joint interest of themselves and the nations among whom they claimed a place. The one party, therefore, indulged in no abuse of kings whose aid they needed, and the other felt no antipathy towards a commonwealth by whose commerce they hoped to profit.—P. 51.

The event of these long protracted negotiations, conducted by our fathers, rebukes the restless spirit so often evoked by our recent morti-

^{*}The value of the actual military aid given to the Revolution by the French was not great, though the moral aid was most important, and also that which came in money and supplies. When Rochambeau's army departed, however, Congress acknowledged that "they had been greatly indebted to it for the reduction of the enemy's force in this country," and expressed the liveliest acknowledgments to the king for his long services to the cause of independence. (Secret Journals of Congress, vol. iii., p. 268.) These hardy republicans of the revolutionary Congress never dreamed for a moment that they were called upon to war upon "kingcraft," and were as willing to hob-nob with a king as a commoner. Witness their address in 1782 to Louis XIV., on the birth of an heir to the throne:

"Our earnest prayer is that he may inherit with it (the throne) the virtues which have acquired to his Majesty so much glory, and to his dominions so much prosperity, and which will be the means of cementing the union so happily established between the two nations."—Secret Journals, vol. iii., p. 108.

[†]Sympathy with Americans, as victims of oppression or champions of liberty, had no share whatever (in the action of France). The cardinal principle was what French writers call egoism, pure and undiluted, seeking to fortify itself against the unwelcome preponderance of an arrogant neighbor, by cherishing the germs of discord in his bosom. Count de Vergennes sketches a policy of deception and duplicity, preparatory to a possible declaration of war, whilst M. Turgot clearly inclines to peace, with but a partial violation of the solemn engagement entered into with England.—Works of John Adams, vol. i., p. 307.

fyng failures. Neither the nineteen nor the fifteen months of probation are passed. Long before they shall be, in all probability, the circumstances which dictated action will dictate it again. Interest, commercial necessity, national rivalry, will move the springs and give impulse to the machinery. No other lever is required. Sympathy, fellowship, philanthropy are impotent. "Watch and wait and make no degrading concessions." Let these be the watchwords of the Confederacy.

The effects of the French treaty Mr. Trescot thus proceeds to show:

The practical aid of French arms was the least of French benefits. Acknowledged as equals by the proudest monarchy of the civilized world; supported by an experienced and adroit diplomacy in their further advances into the society of nations; strengthened in their hitherto doubtful contest by fleets and armies from whose flags the traditional glories of Louis XIV. had not yet quite faded; the United States felt themselves invigorated for victory. Nor was this all. The recognition of France involved a war with England; war between England and France was almost certain to extend into a general continental war; and then, as parties without whose preliminary consent France could not, according to treaty stipulations, make any peace, their opinions became at once matter of the gravest concern to all Europe. The question of their independence ceased to be one of slow and gradual settlement among indifferent nations.—P. 59.

War between France and England necessarily resulted from the treaty. In anticipation of it, the latter Government was willing to accede to every demand of the Colonies short of independence, but the overtures received no attention. The time had passed.

We proceed rapidly to consider the course pursued by Spain and Holland at this juncture. The Spaniards had joint interest with the French to humble English pride and restrict English power, and both nations acted very early in giving secret countenance and aid to the Revolution. Spain, however, was too much influenced by the question of her own Colonies to unite with France in open and public declarations. These Colonies might, in a like manner, elude her grasp. Though not averse to an English war, it must be upon other grounds. To use Mr. Trescot's language:

Spain, on the other hand, neither sympathized with the struggle nor rejoiced in any of its probable results. So far as a Colonial rebellion crippled England's force, she accepted it. So far as she might hope to aggrandize her own possessions by the distribution and re-arrangement of a general pacification, she preferred the complication; but except as a means of future diplomatic bargaining, by which she might obtain the Floridas, shut the navigation of the Mississippi, and thus control the Gulf of Mexico, she felt little interest, and made, it must fairly be added, small profession. She declared war for her own purposes, and was ready to use any chance advantage that might aid in achieving them.—P. 66.

Mr. Jay, therefore, found his negotiation at Madrid likely to prove interminable. His able arguments and documents were unheeded. His concessions were rejected. Spain would make no treaty, and the War of Independence was won without it. Fortunately, for a treaty must have given her the freedom of the Mississippi, which eventual American interests would have never tolerated. The Count d'Aranda expresses the Spanish feeling:

"France has but few possessions in America, but she was bound to consider that

Spain, her most intimate ally, had many, and that she now stands exposed to terrible reverses. From the beginning France has acted against her true interests, in encouraging and supporting this independence."—Trescot, p. 71.

The Colonial question will be found as active with Spain at the present day, and will probably determine her course in any negotiations with her. It is to her as cotton and tobacco are to the British and French. Her Colonies were endangered by the doctrines and the proximity of the old United States. Will they be less exposed under the new order of things? Assurances upon this point and concessions may be required—more, perhaps, than it is the interest of the Confederacy to grant. On the question of slavery, the Spaniards are our natural allies, and this consideration may, in the event, over-ride every other. We should know how to use our advantages in pressing negotiations.*

The proximity of the Dutch West Indies, and the immense capital and commerce of Holland, rendered treaty relations with her exceedingly to be desired. The Dutch were averse to war, and were under English influence. They preferred eventually which would give them the carrying trade, but this suited neither of the belligerents, and they were at once thrown between two fires. England, at the same time, by pressing her claims for efficient aid under the treaties of 1674 and 1715, and by the imperious tone of her ambassador and cabinet, was alienating very rapidly her allies. The crisis was rapidly reached. As early as 1778 the plan of a treaty was agreed upon with America, between Wm. Lee and Van Berkel, the Pensionary of Amsterdam. This plan was discovered among the papers of Henry Laurens, taken prisoner in 1780 by the British, when on his way to Holland to complete the negotiation. John Adams was selected by Congress to supply the place of Mr. Laurens—but it was not until April, 1782, that he was officially recognized by the Prince of Orange, and not until the following October that a treaty was signed. Mr. Adams plumed himself not a little upon this treaty, and Mr. Trescot speaks of it as "a noble testimonial of the worth of his judgment and the boldness of his patriotism."

The result was to the United States of the first importance. It was the first successful negotiation they had conducted since the recognition of their independence, and it weakened materially the position of the British Government; for the defection of the Netherlands was a loss of both moral and physical strength. It not only shut the continent against hope of support, but indicated even more strongly than the armed neutrality a change in the spirit of political combinations, and pointed conclusively to the necessity of a re-distribution of the balance of power so effectually disturbed by England's commercial greatness. It also brought

*The Colonies remaining to Spain in America are Cuba and Porto Rico, which together have a population of nearly two million souls; 800,000 are slaves. This is the best estimate that we can make. The commerce of the islands in exports and imports will reach \$80,000,000 per annum, and perhaps more. Cuba alone in 1851 showed

Exports, \$31,341,682
Imports, 32,311,430

About one-fifth of this commerce is directly with Spain. The other four-fifths pay rich tribute to the mother country.

to the United States not merely the moral support of another Government, but the substantial aid of a large and liberal loan. But there was one point of view in which the treaty with the Netherlands was of higher importance than the money with which it replenished a shallow treasury. The United States felt that in this treaty they negotiated of themselves as equals with equals. In the alliance with France they had indeed sacrificed neither pride nor interest, but they were obliged to feel the protecting character of its provisions. Disguise it in what language diplomacy might, the aid of France was bestowed, generously it is true, but to some degree charitably. Now, in the treaty with Holland, they knew that they contributed in no small degree to wider interests than their own. More confirmed in their power, more cognizant of the value of their connection, they felt not only that they negotiated on more equal terms, but that the result of their negotiation had a distinctive value in the eyes of the world. The progress of affairs justified their opinion.—Pp. 89-90-91.

After considering the part which the great powers saw fit to act during the performance of the drama of American independence, we come now to the discussion of their conduct in the closing scenes, when the results of so many years of struggles and sacrifices, of daring heroism, and of unswerving devotion and patriotism, were to be realized to our forefathers and their children after them. More than half a century of liberty, security and peace resulted from that contest, and its mission will extend to generations yet to come, though with fire and sword we are called upon to vindicate it. The spirit of '76 lives in the generation which battles from the Potomac to the Rio Grande for the inalienable and imprescriptible rights of self-government, and for the overthrow of tyranny and oppression, whether in the new world or the old.

Before the conclusion of the French treaty, the British government made attempts at conciliation by the repeal of the Stamp Act, by conceding the right of taxation, and by the appointment of a select commission to the Colonies. Soon after the signing of the treaty, Mr. Hartly, with the approbation of Lord North, sounded Dr. Franklin on the practicability of an arrangement which, whilst it *tacitly* admitted the independence of the Colonies, would secure for a certain number of years a truce as a basis of final settlement. One of the conditions proposed was, that America should be absolved from the obligations of any treaties she may have formed with other powers. This condition was in itself sufficient to close the discussion, since it proposed perfidy and involved insult. Franklin replied, "America has no desire of being free from her engagement to France." The affair was no sooner ended, than Spain, naturally affected by her close relation with France, offered mediation. It was, she said, a final offer, and was coupled with the declaration that if unsuccessful, "nothing would remain to his Catholic Majesty but to perform those duties which his alliance with the King of France imposed upon him." M. Gerard, the French Minister, urged upon Congress the importance of sending a representative to Madrid to conciliate and strengthen the Spanish mediation. He said that England, though inclined to reconciliation with France, rejected haughtily the very idea of a *formal and explicit* acknowledgment of Colonial independence, and he called attention to the stipulations of the French treaty, in which a *tacit* acknowledgment of independence was admitted as a possible contingency of peace.

"France," says he, "foresaw the extreme difficulties which a formal and explicit acknowledgment might meet with. She knew by her own experience in similar contests in which she has been deeply concerned, respecting the republics of Holland, Genoa, and the Swiss Cantons, how tenacious monarchs are, and how repugnant to pronounce the humiliating formula. It was only obtained for Holland tacitly, after a war of thirty years, and explicitly, after a resistance of seventy. To this day Genoa and the Swiss Cantons have obtained no renunciation or acknowledgment, either tacit or formal, from their former sovereigns; but they enjoy their sovereignty and independence only under the guarantee of France. His court thought it important to provide that difficulties of this nature, which consist merely in words, should not delay or prevent America from enjoying the thing itself."—Trescot, pp. 98-9.

War between Spain and England followed close upon the rejection of the mediation, but the ministry believing it practicable to adjust the difficulty by separate negotiations, proposed informally through Sir John Dalrymple in May, 1780, "a coalition between all the Colonial powers of Europe, guaranteeing their respective American possessions, making certain concessions to the Colonial legislatures, and providing for a mutual freedom of commerce between these joint owners of the new world." The proposal, though at first very captivating, in the end met with little or no favor.

A second attempt at mediation was made in 1781, by the Empress Catharine of Russia and the Emperor of Austria. The former proposed her good offices to England and the latter to France. The court of London at once accepted and desired a Congress to be convened at Vienna. The answer of France was unsatisfactory and evasive. The mediators proposed:

"That the reestablishment of peace in America should be negotiated between Great Britain and the American colonies without the intervention of the other belligerents, or even of the two imperial courts, unless their mediation should be formally asked; but that the treaty so negotiated should be signed conjointly with that of the other powers: that the mediators should be certainly informed of the progress of this negotiation, in order to regulate their negotiations with regard to the other belligerents, and both pacifications were to be solemnly guaranteed by the mediating courts and every other neutral power whose guarantee the belligerent parties should think proper to claim. During this negotiation a truce was to be established on the principle of the *statu quo*."—Trescot, p. 104.

Mr. Adams, informed by Vergennes of this overture, elaborately pointed out its difficulties, but concluded that as a representative of the United States he would agree to the Congress, though his instructions prevented his consent to the armistice and *statu quo*. The Congress, however, proved entirely impracticable for the declaration of England that she was ready to make peace "as soon as the league between France and her revolted subjects should be dissolved; that in all points to be agitated in a future Congress, the dependence of her rebel subjects in America must be preestablished, and that this matter must be left entirely to the care of Great Britain." Thus the prospects of peace seemed to be as far removed as ever.

Whilst these discussions were in progress, a commission was formed by Congress, with full power to settle a general pacification. It consisted of Dr. Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, Thomas Jefferson and John

Adams. A more distinguished commission, perhaps in no country or period of history were ever called upon to treat of great questions. They were instructed "to accept the mediation, but to accede to no terms of peace which did not effectually secure the independence and sovereignty of the thirteen States, and in which the treaties with France shall not be left in full force and validity."

They were instructed to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France: to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence: and ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion, endeavoring in your whole conduct to make them sensible how much we rely on his Majesty's influence for effectual support in everything that may be necessary to the present security or future prosperity of America.—Trescot, p. 110.

The British ministry, convinced of the impracticability of securing peace through the proposed mediation, made independent advances to the French minister and the American commissioners, but soon discovered that the allies would not consent to negotiate separately. A change in the ministry caused by resignation and death, was favorable to peace, and Mr. Oswald, as their representative, proposed to Vergennes the renewal of negotiations, in which as a preliminary, his British Majesty would recognize the independence of the Colonies. A bill was carried through Parliament enabling the King to consent to this independence. On the 25th of July, 1782, Richard Oswald was empowered to conduct negotiations with the United States.

Mr. Oswald's first instructions involved a very shallow and unworthy attempt to save British pride at the expense of principle, but were held by the American commissioners unsatisfactory, and not furnishing a basis of negotiations. These instructions empowered him to treat of, consult and conclude with any commissioners named by *the said Colonies, or plantations, or any bodies, etc., etc., a treaty or truce, &c.* Mr. Jay insisted that *recognition* should be preliminary to any discussion whatever, and Mr. Oswald having consulted his Government, was prepared on the 21st of September, 1782, "to treat of, consult and conclude with any commissioners or persons vested with equal powers *by and on the part of the thirteen States of America* (naming them), a peace or truce with the said United States." This of course satisfied the demands of the most captious and covered the entire ground. The representatives therefore after protracted discussion, involving many important questions of boundary, etc., were enabled on the 30th of November, 1782, to sign the preliminary articles of the treaty.*

*The following, taken from one of the London papers, appeared just after the peace. It finely ridicules the great preparation and small results of the war so far as England was concerned:

"Gage nothing did and went to pot,
Howe lost one town and got another,
Guy (Carleton) nothing lost and nothing won,
Dunmore was homeward forced to run,
Clinton was beat and got a garter,
And bouncing Burgoyne caught a Tartar;

We shall here quote at length, from Mr. Trescot, in regard to the course pursued by our commissioners in signing without the knowledge of the French Court:

In consequence of the temper of the majority of the Commissioners, these negotiations were conducted without the participation and signed without the knowledge of the French court. That this was in direct violation of positive instructions is certain; and it is difficult, even admitting the truth of the suspicions which induced it, to see its advantage. For if the object of France was to combine with England against American interests, they would be surely as thoroughly informed of the progress of the negotiation through the English ministers, as they would in the opposite case by the Americans. It is true that, whether right or wrong, it was calculated to show the world, then watching the negotiations for peace with great interest, that the United States were independent in deed as well as word; that they comprehended thoroughly their own interests, and intended to maintain them; that their gratitude was far from subserviency; and that their place in politics had its own intrinsic value and its special influence. The fact, too, was perhaps significant of a deeper truth, that the alliance with France was at best but temporary, to be controlled, modified, even ruptured by higher and older national necessities. But, without attempting to justify this course, thus much may be said in its extenuation: that, in the first place, it did not change either the relations or obligations of the parties. France could have refused, if necessary, to recognize the terms, and the treaty of 1778 would then have prevented their consummation; while her real ignorance of their nature did relieve her of the necessity of supporting the Spanish claims against the United States, and thus saved her from a position in which she must have failed one and probably offended both. As to the mere violation of instructions, it is a necessity which often presents itself to all agents. Situated as they were, knowing that communication with their government was impossible, compelled to act promptly, and free from the tenor of their instructions to interpret a special limitation into a general advice, they were bound to attend to their country's interest even against their country's commands. In the general negotiation of which their treaty was only a part, as distinguished a diplomatist as Count D'Aranda followed their example. For he consented, in treating with England, to accept the Floridas in lieu of Gibraltar, without the authority of his court, and as he himself said at the risk of his head. And it should be remembered, in fairness to the Commissioners, that if Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams felt some distrust of the French court, they were not entirely to blame. Vergennes had, on more than one occasion, shown a strong disposition to reduce the American ministers in Europe to very subordinate influence. He had undertaken to effect American independence in his own way, and did not like to scatter explanations of his conduct to every minister of the United States who crossed his arrangements at other courts. They therefore very often misunder-

Thus all we got for millions spent,
Is to be laughed at and repent."

See Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, p. 397.

The expenses of the war to Great Britain were estimated at £120,000,000 sterling, \$600,000,000. (McCulloch.) That of the Colonies reached \$135,000,000 specie. The amount of Continental money issued, at a depreciation, to cover the above, was in

1776	\$20,068,666
1777	26,426,353
1778	66,965,269
1779	149,703,856
1780	82,908,320
1781	11,408,095

Total \$357,476,541

See Pitkin's Statistics of U. S., p. 26.

stood where a fuller confidence might have taught them to trust. It would be useless to argue the grounds of the suspicion entertained by the Commissioners, for it is now known that the object of Rayneval's mission was in regard to questions between France, England, and Spain, as to certain equivalents in restitution of their claims on each other; and the merits of the subject could not, perhaps, after all be better summed up, than in the dignified and impartial language of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. In acknowledging the receipt of the preliminary articles, he expresses the great satisfaction of Congress at their nature, and then says: "But, gentlemen, though the issue of your treaty has been successful, though I am satisfied that we are much indebted to your firmness and perseverance, to your accurate knowledge of our situation and of our wants for this success; yet I feel no little pain at the distrust manifested in the management of it, particularly in signing the treaty without communicating it to the court of Versailles till after the signatures, and in concealing the separate article from it even when signed. I have examined with the most minute attention all the reasons assigned in your several dispatches, to justify these suspicions. I confess they do not appear to strike me so forcibly as they have done you; and it gives me pain that the character for candor and fidelity to its engagements, which should always characterize a great people, should have been impeached thereby. The concealment was, in my opinion, absolutely necessary: for had the court of France disapproved the terms you made after they had been agreed upon, they could not have acted so absurdly as to counteract you at that late day, and thereby put themselves in the power of an enemy who would certainly betray them, and perhaps justify you in making terms for yourselves."

Vergennes did complain, but, all things considered, mildly. No difficulty was made, and the preliminary articles were ratified by Congress.—Pp. 133-137.

One other quotation from Mr. Trescot, which will be interesting, in showing the indebtedness of our country to Louis XVI., who so early and so efficiently espoused her cause:

If there is a touching incident in all history, it is that the last act of the oldest and proudest monarchy of Europe was to support into the circle of nations the faltering footsteps of the youngest republic of the world. And though fierce convulsions have shaken the foundations of that ancient kingdom; though the institutions which matured its wisdom and nursed its strength have been swept away before the tide of time; though the long line of its illustrious sovereigns has been broken in blood, yet is there still one country where the memory of "Old France" is holy, one broad land where the name of the martyred son of St. Louis is blessed by age and revered by youth. Whatever may have been his fate in the realm he could not govern, Louis XVI. will never die in American history.—P. 138.

The tribute to the memory and services of Vergennes is equally eloquent and merited:

He recognized the independence of the United States freely, with no hesitating qualifications or ungenerous conditions; and once recognized, he faithfully performed every stipulation of his treaty. Money was furnished liberally, and men effectively; and through all the chances of war and negotiation he never neglected the interests of his ally, or attempted to use their weakness for a selfish purpose. He generously espoused a great cause, and he nobly sustained it. There have been more brilliant diplomatists, mightier ministers, greater men. But he had the fortune to preside over great events, to act a chief part in one of those revolutions which introduce a new period of history. His actions were wider in their consequences than even he imagined. He restored to France much of her former glory, and something of her former strength. He introduced a new Empire into the family of nations, and laid the foundations of a vaster balance of power than statesmen had ever yet controlled. With him closed that long succession of renowned statesmen whose names, affixed to the great treaties of modern Europe, are perpetual illustrations of the sagacity and power of old France.—Pp. 141-2.

Mr. Trescot concludes with a noble testimonial to the worth and services of those great men, who settled the foundations upon which American liberty and independence were intended to rest:

In that proud circle of famous warriors and great civilians which illustrates the history of the United States, none should stand in brighter light than the diplomatists of the Revolution. They were, more particularly than others, the representatives of the nation in perilous times. Far from home, unsustained by sympathy, their labors hidden from the popular eye, surrounded by perplexities which none but themselves could fully know; simple men in the midst of courtly splendor, watched by ambassadors of old and haughty States, sometimes with jealousy, sometimes with hate, treated now with patronizing pity, then with supercilious indifference, they held fast to their faith in their country. They sustained their country's fame; they vindicated their country's interest; and through failure and success they spoke the same language of calm resolution. And as time passed on, and kingdom after kingdom recognized them in the fullness of their ambassadorial character, they kept the even tenor of their way undaunted by fortune, as they had been undismayed by difficulty. They negotiated the great treaties which secured the independence of their country with consummate ability. They used every honorable advantage with adroitness, they compromised no single interest through haste, they committed themselves to no exaggerated principles, and sacrificed nothing to temporary triumph. In the course of their long and arduous labors, there were occasional differences of opinion; and like all men, there were times when they failed in their purposes. But they worked together heartily for the common good, and even when circumstances too strong for their control opposed their wishes, they never despaired. The very variety of their characters adapted itself to their necessities: and if the deferential wisdom of Franklin smoothed the difficulties of the French treaty, the energetic activity of Adams conquered the obstacles to the alliance with Holland, and the conduct of the negotiations with England was guided by the inflexible firmness of Jay. Others there were whose fame is less, only because success did not crown their efforts. But through the whole period of this critical time—in all the communications between the government and its representatives, there is the same firm and temperate counsel. They knew that the Old World was watching their conduct to draw its inferences and govern its policy, and they spoke and acted without passion or petulance. Men of quiet dignity, tried faith, and large ability, their words savored of no insolent bravado, no licentious sentiment. They appealed to the great principles of international law for the warrant of their deeds and the guarantee of their claims. They felt that the right of independent national existence was a privilege not to be lightly claimed; and they entered into the old and venerable circle of nations in no vulgar spirit of defiant equality, but calm, as conscious of right—resolutely, as conscious of strength—gravely, as conscious of duty. Pp. 160-2.

With a few remarks we close this already too much extended paper. Our Commissioners in Europe are properly retained there. We should rather strengthen the embassy than meditate its recall. Want of success in the past can argue nothing for the future. Every nation seeking place among its fellows is called upon to pass through the same delays and mortifications. The experiences of history are upon our side. There is no sacrifice of national pride. Benefits are not sought except in proportion as they are conferred. The State seeking alliances is not assimilated to an individual. Slavery is not more unpopular in Europe than were revolution and republicanism in the times of George III. If, at the dictates of interest, the courts could stomach republicanism, there will be little difficulty for them to swallow slavery when the same interests prompt! They now look on with freezing indifference,

seemingly, but in reality the indifference is assumed. Let the contest end as it pleases, a proud, boastful and dangerous rival is shorn of his strength. It is the policy of the courts, therefore, that the struggle should go on, and under circumstances that will be most exhausting. Intervention would settle the question too soon. Better to wait; better to endure temporary sufferings from the interruption of commerce. If intervention must take place, let it be only when the belligerents have mutually ruined each other. Then can better terms be obtained from the Confederates, and less danger will be apprehended from the wrath of the Federals. They will be powerless to strike back. A people who would not be conquered in the last century, cannot be conquered in this. They are not yet reduced to the condition of despair which European interests require. Their pride is too great and their aims are too high. When they have passed through more trials and sufferings their demands will be less. It is policy to wait. If they gain great successes and are likely to secure peace without intervention, then shall there be less danger of war, by pronouncing at some happy moment in their favor. A certain amount of secret sympathy and aid may be given in the meanwhile. If disasters come thick and fast, and they are likely to be overwhelmed, action may be had at any moment. It cannot be the interest of the great powers that the Union shall be reconstructed, and we may rest assured that they will find means at the opportune time to prevent it. Therefore, keep our ministers abroad, with powers ample for any exigency that may arise, and with capacity to take advantage of all complications that may redound to the advantage of their country. This was the course pursued by our fathers, and should be ours.

ART. II.—ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

"Who is the Baron Von Humboldt," said the Emperor Franz Joseph, of Austria, when introduced to him at Prague, by the demented King of Prussia; "that you present him to me with so much *empressement*? I have never heard of him." "Not heard of him!" exclaimed the King, with amazement; "why he is the greatest man since the deluge!" In this we do not agree with the enthusiastic King, but he was greater than kings who rule by authority of the sword, or the accident of birth. He was king of science, king over the thoughts, and dictator to the acquirements of a large part of the world of knowledge. The question, who is the greatest man of an age or country, is frequently asked, and as often left unanswered; nor is it our purpose to sit in judgment on the question. But it may be said to be an attribute of the highest greatness, for any one to stamp his individuality upon his race; in which men act in spheres; Alexander, Caesar, Cromwell, Napoleon, in the annals of wars; Homer, Milton, Shakspeare, Dante, in regions of poetry; Demosthenes, Cicero, Mirabeau, Henry, in oratory; Pitt, Talleyrand, Hamilton, as statesmen;

1799, to make a visit to Africa, and would have embarked on board a Swedish frigate, which was to have conveyed the Swedish Consul, Skialdebrand, from Marseilles on a special mission to Algiers, but the disabling of the frigate at sea, and subsequent belligerent disturbances with the European and Barbary powers, frustrated this enterprise also. Baffled, but undaunted, he passed from Paris over to Spain, and here an opportunity offered for making a visit to the new world. The savans of Madrid favored the projected trip, and in company with his distinguished friend, Bonpland, he embarked at Corunna, under the protection of the Spanish government, on the frigate Pizarro, bound for Cuba.

Travelers are actuated by various motives, the larger portion, restless and uneducated, merely by the desire of seeing strange sights and gratifying a vague taste for pleasure. It was a pleasure to these young philosophers, but their motive lay far deeper; with books and instruments they sought the advancement of science, the promotion of the welfare of mankind, and before them lay a dangerous and laborious duty. Not to visit proud cities and dissipate time and money in gay saloons, but to wander in strange and uncultivated lands, to encounter thirst and hunger, and wild beasts, exposure to the elements and disease, all for the sake of knowledge, from which the world would profit; in overcoming the perils of the ocean for the sake of commerce; by studying the laws of the winds and the very topography of the seas; by observations on the heavens and the lands, and everything that grows thereon, fit for food and sustenance, for clothing the body, or healing the sick.

As soon as they were wafted from shore by the gentle south wind, their experiments and observations began, and they discovered what has since been of great use to the seafaring and commercial world, which was by using a valved thermometrical lead, that the neighborhood of a sand bank is thus revealed, before the lead can be of any use, by the quick decrease in the temperature of the water. It is proper to be mentioned, that before embarking for America, Humboldt was not entirely untraveled, for after leaving Gottingen he had visited Holland, England, France, Switzerland, Austria and Italy, during which period he had been mostly connected with the mining corps of Prussia, devoting at the same time much attention to other scientific pursuits; among which may be noticed galvanism and botany, then beginning to be a favorite study among men of science, and also becoming skillfully accustomed to the use of those astronomical and physical instruments which he employed in South America, and afterwards turned to so excellent a purpose. He reached America in 1799, and spent five years of laborious investigation and tedious travel. This occasioned by

which induced it, to see its advantage. For if the object of France was to combine with England against American interests, they would be surely as thoroughly informed of the progress of the negotiation through the English ministers, as they would in the opposite case by the Americans. It is true that, whether right or wrong, it was calculated to show the world, then watching the negotiations for peace with great interest, that the United States were independent in deed as well

notice the manner in which he has written out those travels, and left his extensive and accurate observations as hand-maidens to science, as an example to scholars, and a light to the world. No just notice could be made of the items of philosophic observation in these books of travel, without the most copious extracts, which would even then fail to present a full view of their scope and range.

Yet the reader may form a just conception of their purpose, by being informed of the magnificent design of the author. He had, in undertaking the journey, a desire to collect such facts as are fitted to elucidate the entire range of those sciences embraced in the natural history of the world; the theory of the earth, or physical geography, and to furnish that continuous and unbroken link which connects the natural sciences. After returning home, his observations were written out in the form of a scientific narrative.

He had resorted to the utmost labor and caution in procuring every species of plant and mineral, having employed more than twenty mules in transporting his specimens across the country. They were carefully divided in three collective parcels, each containing forty-two boxes; this precaution was taken to provide against any loss that might occur on account of the uncertain communication between Europe and America, which existed during the maritime wars which then raged between the European powers. One box was shipped for France and Spain, the second for the United States and England; the third remained constantly under the care of himself or Bonpland.

The plan he adopted in writing out these travels, if not so agreeable to the general reader, is certainly better calculated to meet the approbation of the man of science. He had composed a brief itinerary of his travels, but he clearly foresaw that the historical narrative plan usually pursued by travelers, was calculated to render his work not only too diffusive, but disconnected and confused; a historical narrative embraces the two distinct objects of the scientific traveler; the events that occur and the observations that are made. His object was to embrace both, a plan which he had observed was followed by that eminent traveler and writer, M. de Saussure, and while he acknowledges the success of the plan in the above mentioned writer, no one has approached it with such eminent success as Humboldt. It is the presentation of phenomena in the order in which they appear, and the inter-spersion of the narrative, so as to maintain a mutual continuity of what passed under his own eye, and yet preserve the connection of scientific observation, occurring at different times. The manner in

your accurate knowledge of our situation and of our wants for this success; yet I feel no little pain at the distrust manifested in the management of it, particularly in signing the treaty without communicating it to the court of Versailles till after the signature, and in concealing the separate article from it even when signed. I have examined with the most minute attention all the reasons assigned in your several dispatches, to justify these suspicions. I confess they do not appear to strike me so forcibly as they have done you; and it gives me pain that the character for candor and fidelity to its engagements, which should always characterize

which induced it, to see its advantage. For if the object of France was to combine with England against American interests, they would be surely as thoroughly informed of the progress of the negotiation through the English ministers, as they would in the opposite case by the Americans. It is true that, whether right or wrong, it was calculated to show the world, then watching the negotiations for peace with great interest, that the United States were independent in deed as well as word; that they comprehended thoroughly their own interests, and intended to maintain them; that their gratitude was far from subserviency; and that their place in politics had its own intrinsic value and its special influence. The fact, too, was perhaps significant of a deeper truth, that the alliance with France was at best but temporary, to be controlled, modified, even ruptured by higher and older considerations. But, should attempting to justify this course, thus much

may be said in its extenuation: that, in the first place, it did not change either the relations or obligations of the parties. France could have refused, if necessary, to recognize the terms, and the treaty of 1778 would then have prevented their consummation; while her real ignorance of their nature did relieve her of the necessity of supporting the Spanish claims against the United States, and thus saved her from a position in which she must have failed one and probably offended both. As to the mere violation of instructions, it is a necessity which often presents itself to all agents. Situated as they were, knowing that communication with their government was impossible, compelled to act promptly, and free from the tenor of their instructions to interpret a special limitation into a general advice, they were bound to attend to their country's interest even against their country's commands. In the general negotiation of which their treaty was only a part, as distinguished a diplomatist as Count D'Aranda followed their example. For he consented, in treating with England, to accept the Floridas in lieu of Gibraltar, without the authority of his court, and as he himself said at the risk of his head. And it should be remembered, in fairness to the Commissioners, that if Mr. Jay and Mr. Adams felt some distrust of the French court, they were not entirely to blame. Vergennes had, on more than one occasion, shown a strong disposition to reduce the American ministers in Europe to very subordinate influence. He had undertaken to effect American independence in his own way, and did not like to scatter explanations of his conduct to every minister of the United States who crossed his arrangements at other courts. They therefore very often misunder-

Thus all we got for millions spent,
Is to be laughed at and repent."

See Johnson's Traditions of the Revolution, p. 397.

The expenses of the war to Great Britain were estimated at £120,000,000 sterling, \$600,000,000. (McCulloch.) That of the Colonies reached \$135,000,000 specie. The amount of Continental money issued, at a depreciation, to cover the above, was in

1776	\$20,068,666
1777	26,426,353
1778	66,965,269
1779	149,703,856
1780	82,908,320
1781	11,408,095

Total \$357,476,541

See Pitkin's Statistics of U. S., p. 26.

your accurate knowledge of our situation and our wants for this success; yet I feel no little pain at the distrust manifested in the management of it, particularly in signing the treaty without communicating it to the court of Versailles till after the signatures, and in concealing the separate article from it even when signed. I have examined with the most minute attention all the reasons assigned in your several dispatches, to justify these suspicions. I confess they do not appear to strike me so forcibly as they have done you; and it gives me pain that the character for candor and fidelity to its engagements, which should always characterize a great people, should have been impeached thereby. The concealment was, in my opinion, absolutely necessary: for had the court of France disapproved the terms you made after they had been agreed upon, they could not have acted so absurdly as to counteract you at that late day, and thereby put themselves in the power of an enemy who would certainly betray them, and perhaps justify you in making terms for your

Vergennes did accordingly draw the treaty, and the preliminary articles were ratified by Congress.—Pp. 133-137.

One other quotation from Mr. Trescot, which will be interesting, in showing the indebtedness of our country to Louis XVI., who so early and so efficiently espoused her cause:

If there is a touching incident in all history, it is that the last act of the oldest and proudest monarchy of Europe was to support into the circle of nations the faltering footsteps of the youngest republic of the world. And though fierce convulsions have shaken the foundations of that ancient kingdom; though the institutions which matured its wisdom and nursed its strength have been swept away before the tide of time; though the long line of its illustrious sovereigns has been broken in blood, yet is there still one country where the memory of "Old France" is holy, one broad land where the name of the martyred son of St. Louis is blessed by age and revered by youth. Whatever may have been his fate in the realm he could not govern, Louis XVI. will never die in American history.—P. 138.

The tribute to the memory and services of Vergennes is equally eloquent and merited:

He recognized the independence of the United States freely, with no hesitating qualifications or ungenerous conditions: and once recognized, he faithfully performed every stipulation of his treaty. Money was furnished liberally, and men effectively; and through all the chances of war and negotiation he never neglected the interests of his ally, or attempted to use their weakness for a selfish purpose. He generously espoused a great cause, and he nobly sustained it. There have been more brilliant diplomatists, mightier ministers, greater men. But he had the fortune to preside over great events, to act a chief part in one of those revolutions which introduce a new period of history. His actions were wider in their consequences than even he imagined. He restored to France much of her former glory, and something of her former strength. He introduced a new Empire into the family of nations, and laid the foundations of a vaster balance of power than statesmen had ever yet controlled. With him closed that long succession of renowned statesmen whose names, affixed to the great treaties of modern Europe, are perpetual illustrations of the sagacity and power of old France.—Pp. 141-2.

Mr. Trescot concludes with a noble testimonial to the worth and services of those great men, who settled the foundations upon which American liberty and independence were intended to rest:

In that proud circle of famous warriors and great civilians which illustrates the history of the United States, none should stand in brighter light than the diplomatists of the Revolution. They were, more particularly than others, the representatives of the nation in perilous times. Far from home, unsustained by sympathy, their labors hidden from the popular eye, surrounded by perplexities which none but themselves could fully know; simple men in the midst of courtly splendor, watched by ambassadors of old and haughty States, sometimes with jealousy, sometimes with hate, treated now with patronizing pity, then with supercilious indifference, they held fast to their faith in their country. They sustained their country's fame; they vindicated their country's interest; and through failure and success they spoke the same language of calm resolution. And as time passed on, and kingdom after kingdom recognized them in the fullness of their ambassadorial character, they kept the even tenor of their way undaunted by fortune, as they had been undismayed by difficulty. They negotiated the great treaties which secured the independence of their country with consummate ability. They used every honorable advantage with adroitness, they compromised no single interest through haste, they committed themselves to no exaggerated principles, and sacrificed nothing to temporary triumph. In the course of their long and arduous labors, there were occasional differences of opinion; and like all men, there were times when they failed in their purposes. But they worked together heartily for the common good, and even when circumstances too strong for their control opposed their wishes, they never despaired. The very variety of their characters adapted itself to their necessities: and if the deferential wisdom of Franklin smoothed the difficulties of the French treaty, the energetic activity of Adams conquered the obstacles to the alliance with Holland, and the conduct of the negotiations with England was guided by the inflexible firmness of Jay. Others there were whose fame is less, only because success did not crown their efforts. But through the whole period of this critical time—in all the communications between the government and its representatives, there is the same firm and temperate counsel. They knew that the Old World was watching their conduct to draw its inferences and govern its policy, and they spoke and acted without passion or petulance. Men of quiet dignity, tried faith, and large ability, their words savored of no insolent bravado, no licentious sentiment. They appealed to the great principles of international law for the warrant of their deeds and the guarantee of their claims. They felt that the right of independent national existence was a privilege not to be lightly claimed; and they entered into the old and venerable circle of nations in no vulgar spirit of defiant equality, but calm, as conscious of right—resolutely, as conscious of strength—gravely, as conscious of duty. Pp. 160-2.

With a few remarks we close this already too much extended paper. Our Commissioners in Europe are properly retained there. We should rather strengthen the embassy than meditate its recall. Want of success in the past can argue nothing for the future. Every nation seeking place among its fellows is called upon to pass through the same delays and mortifications. The experiences of history are upon our side. There is no sacrifice of national pride. Benefits are not sought except in proportion as they are conferred. The State seeking alliances is not assimilated to an individual. Slavery is not more unpopular in Europe than were revolution and republicanism in the times of George III. If, at the dictates of interest, the courts could stomach republicanism, there will be little difficulty for them to swallow slavery when the same interests prompt! They now look on with freezing indifference,

seemingly, but in reality the indifference is assumed. Let the contest end as it pleases, a proud, boastful and dangerous rival is shorn of his strength. It is the policy of the courts, therefore, that the struggle should go on, and under circumstances that will be most exhausting. Intervention would settle the question too soon. Better to wait; better to endure temporary sufferings from the interruption of commerce. If intervention must take place, let it be only when the belligerents have mutually ruined each other. Then can better terms be obtained from the Confederates, and less danger will be apprehended from the wrath of the Federals. They will be powerless to strike back. A people who would not be conquered in the last century, cannot be conquered in this. They are not yet reduced to the condition of despair which European interests require. Their pride is too great and their aims are too high. When they have passed through more trials and sufferings their demands will be less. It is policy to wait. If they gain great successes and are likely to secure peace without intervention, then shall there be less danger of war, by pronouncing at some happy moment in their favor. A certain amount of secret sympathy and aid may be given in the meanwhile. If disasters come thick and fast, and they are likely to be overwhelmed, action may be had at any moment. It cannot be the interest of the great powers that the Union shall be reconstructed, and we may rest assured that they will find means at the opportune time to prevent it. Therefore, keep our ministers abroad, with powers ample for any exigency that may arise, and with capacity to take advantage of all complications that may redound to the advantage of their country. This was the course pursued by our fathers, and should be ours.

ART. II.—ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

"Who is the Baron Von Humboldt," said the Emperor Franz Joseph, of Austria, when introduced to him at Prague, by the demented King of Prussia; "that you present him to me with so much *empressement*? I have never heard of him." "Not heard of him!" exclaimed the King, with amazement; "why he is the greatest man since the deluge!" In this we do not agree with the enthusiastic King, but he was greater than kings who rule by authority of the sword, or the accident of birth. He was king of science, king over the thoughts, and dictator to the acquirements of a large part of the world of knowledge. The question, who is the greatest man of an age or country, is frequently asked, and as often left unanswered; nor is it our purpose to sit in judgment on the question. But it may be said to be an attribute of the highest greatness, for any one to stamp his individuality upon his race; in which men act in spheres; Alexander, Caesar, Cromwell, Napoleon, in the annals of wars; Homer, Milton, Shakspeare, Dante, in regions of poetry; Demosthenes, Cicero, Mirabeau, Henry, in oratory; Pitt, Talleyrand, Hamilton, as statesmen;

Aristides, Cato, Orange, Washington, as just and lofty self-sacrificing and devoted patriots, whose moral characters illustrated the highest and noblest exploits.

Of Newton, Bacon, Locke, Humboldt, great engineers, in the partially measured but unsurveyed world of science, and what examples of labor have we before us? As it was ordained from on high, that the physical man should earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow, so has it been and will be through all time that the food of the mind which forms the muscle and sinew of thought is developed by the intense labor of the intellect. The most surprising example that the world affords in respect to labor of body and mind, especially the latter, is perhaps the subject of this paper, whose relaxation from idleness was the relief of sixteen hours of daily labor.

Humboldt was born and educated at a time most favorable to the high mission he fulfilled; born in 1769, memorable year, which ushered into existence philosophers, warriors and statesmen, whose gigantic efforts revolutionized science and the political and social affairs of the world, for it was the same year which witnessed the birth of Cuvier, Canning, Chauteaubriand, Walter Scott, Mackintosh, Wellington and Napoleon. Receiving every advantage that wealth, society and education could bestow, he felt himself an active agent in the great field of science. He imbibed the excitement which raged in the old world for travel and scientific discovery. Berlin and Paris were centres of attraction for learning and learned men; in the former were Eichhorn and Heyne, Foster and Blumenbach, in the latter were Corvisart, Gay-Lussac, under whom he studied, and Bonpland, the celebrated naturalist, who in connection with Michaux, became his traveling companion, and life-long bosom friend, while even in early manhood such men as Goethe and Schiller were proud to claim his acquaintance, and rejoice in his companionship. Humboldt's life has been badly written. Klencke, who was his intimate friend, had an opportunity of writing a biography which no doubt is accurate, as such, for he obtained much of his material from Humboldt himself. But as Bayard Taylor says, he seemed to have no idea beyond the mere collection of facts, unimbued with the spirit which should actuate the writer who would depict in living light, such a character as Alexander Von Humboldt. Bayard Taylor has written the most spirited biography of the great philosopher that we have met with; his style is eminently intense, with many fine expressions, and beautiful comparisons, showing a high appreciation of the subject, but in his effort to popularize the man, which he acknowledges was his object, he has failed to present him, as he stands before the gaze of the scientific world, the great embodiment, the living cosmos, of the physical philosophy and science of the nineteenth century. "To write a popular life of Humboldt," according to the idea of Bayard Taylor, however beautiful and accurate it may be, is in the "popular" acceptance of the phrase, a misconception. Scholars will sympathize with him, bending with burning brow over the flickering flame of the midnight

lamp, and remember with tearful eye the weary traveler as he scales amidst sulphurous crystals and sharp pointed pedregals, the lofty Teneriffe, and gazes from the edge of the crater into its volcanic abyss, or shivering with cold amidst the steppes of Siberia, or panting with heat and exhaustive fever beneath the rays of a tropical sun; but these are human sufferings voluntarily encountered, and the cold ear of the popular reader catches the sound without one sympathetic vibration. But amid all this toil and privation, sickness and suffering, the scholar takes a loftier view of the products of the labor of such a mind. The dangers of the stormy ocean are braved, cold and heat defied, lonely nights in the wild forest, the malarious swamp or frozen mountain are all encountered, that astronomy, geography, botany, mineralogy, and all the mighty kindred host of science, may be subjected to man's knowledge, and man's interest.

Humboldt was no *specialty* in his greatness; he was not in mind, or labor, devoted to any one class of studies or pursuits; this, in a measure, may impair the bold outline of his character in the popular eye, which loves to behold the bold relief of irregularity, the excessive predominance of some turn of genius. His American biographer has beautifully and truthfully said in reference to him, "perfect symmetry never produces the effect of vastness; it is only by studying the details that we comprehend the character of the whole."

In order to appreciate his character, we must view him in separate fields of action and thought, and with each well defined, place them in that juxtaposition, which in union produces that harmony which in its "vastness," is still subdued by the near approach "to perfect symmetry."

After the Humboldts, William and Alexander, had completed their scholastic studies, they sold out their large patrimonial estate. William married, and lived for some years in Paris, devoting himself to the languages and the study of philology, on which subject were published after his death several volumes of eminent ability and learning. Alexander's life is presented to us in a threefold character—traveler, scientific man and statesman, in which were blended the combined elegancies of language, literature and art. The acquisition of knowledge—geography, geology, botany—indeed an attempt to comprehend the aggregate laws of creation, growth and decay, was from early youth his sublime aim. After laying the strong foundations of a wide and extensive education, he knew that it could only be completed by travel, and actual ocular, as well as scientific investigation. He had written at an early age a small treatise, entitled "Mineralogical Observations on some Basaltic Formations of the Rhine," designed to support the Neptunic theory of Werner, or the aqueous formation of every kind of rock, a theory he lived to correct in after years. But he was determined on extensive traveling. He first projected, under the auspices of Lord Bristol, an English nobleman, a journey to upper Egypt. This plan was destroyed by the political disturbances of Europe, and the arrest of Lord Bristol at Milan. He then entered into an engagement,

1799, to make a visit to Africa, and would have embarked on board a Swedish frigate, which was to have conveyed the Swedish Consul, Skialdebrand, from Marseilles on a special mission to Algiers, but the disabling of the frigate at sea, and subsequent belligerent disturbances with the European and Barbary powers, frustrated this enterprise also. Baffled, but undaunted, he passed from Paris over to Spain, and here an opportunity offered for making a visit to the new world. The savans of Madrid favored the projected trip, and in company with his distinguished friend, Bonpland, he embarked at Corunna, under the protection of the Spanish government, on the frigate Pizarro, bound for Cuba.

Travelers are actuated by various motives, the larger portion, restless and uneducated, merely by the desire of seeing strange sights and gratifying a vague taste for pleasure. It was a pleasure to these young philosophers, but their motive lay far deeper; with books and instruments they sought the advancement of science, the promotion of the welfare of mankind, and before them lay a dangerous and laborious duty. Not to visit proud cities and dissipate time and money in gay saloons, but to wander in strange and uncultivated lands, to encounter thirst and hunger, and wild beasts, exposure to the elements and disease, all for the sake of knowledge, from which the world would profit; in overcoming the perils of the ocean for the sake of commerce; by studying the laws of the winds and the very topography of the seas; by observations on the heavens and the lands, and everything that grows thereon, fit for food and sustenance, for clothing the body, or healing the sick.

As soon as they were wafted from shore by the gentle south wind, their experiments and observations began, and they discovered what has since been of great use to the seafaring and commercial world, which was by using a valved thermometrical lead, that the neighborhood of a sand bank is thus revealed, before the lead can be of any use, by the quick decrease in the temperature of the water. It is proper to be mentioned, that before embarking for America, Humboldt was not entirely untraveled, for after leaving Gottingen he had visited Holland, England, France, Switzerland, Austria and Italy, during which period he had been mostly connected with the mining corps of Prussia, devoting at the same time much attention to other scientific pursuits; among which may be noticed galvanism and botany, then beginning to be a favorite study among men of science, and also becoming skillfully accustomed to the use of those astronomical and physical instruments which he employed in South America, and afterwards turned to so excellent a purpose. He reached America in 1799, and spent five years of laborious investigation and toilsome travel. Thus prepared by study, by an acquaintance with the use of instruments, and with a knowledge of the wants of science, no man ever started on a long travel so mentally and intellectually equipped.

It is not our purpose in this paper to recount the various scenes of travel, and the many observations belonging to the wide range of science made by our author during his journey to the new world, but rather to

notice the manner in which he has written out those travels, and left his extensive and accurate observations as hand-maidens to science, as an example to scholars, and a light to the world. No just notice could be made of the items of philosophic observation in these books of travel, without the most copious extracts, which would even then fail to present a full view of their scope and range.

Yet the reader may form a just conception of their purpose, by being informed of the magnificent design of the author. He had, in undertaking the journey, a desire to collect such facts as are fitted to elucidate the entire range of those sciences embraced in the natural history of the world; the theory of the earth, or physical geography, and to furnish that continuous and unbroken link which connects the natural sciences. After returning home, his observations were written out in the form of a scientific narrative.

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no other could have been adopted with justice to himself, and the demands of science. The mighty mind of Humboldt must discard the feeble system of diary and itinerary, which weak-minded travelers have used to make up long, tedious, and, to the sensible reader, disgusting, "Books of Travel." He was actuated by higher incentives; descriptive natural history, phenomena, geography, political economy, laws, constitutions, man, and all that relates to him, moral, social and political, were to be grouped, in philosophic harmony, in a descriptive and narrative history of travels; all of which is presented to us in the three volumes, "Of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America during the years 1799—1804, by Alexander Von Humboldt and Aime Bonpland." The part performed by the latter will be noticed hereafter.

It had been the desire of Humboldt, from his early youth, to travel into distant countries seldom visited by Europeans. To the scientific traveler, at the beginning of the present century, no country on earth presented such inducements as the new continent. In the old world national history, distinctions and mutations in forms of government, battles, manners, customs and taste, form the ingredients of books of travels. In America other elements were to be gathered; the imperfections of physical science were crying aloud for discoveries and means of completing her theories by adding to the thesaurarium of her facts. Its immense and unexplored continent, washed on either side by a great ocean; its large forests untouched and unscanned by the eye of civilization, its mighty rivers flowing from the interior to the ocean, its lofty mountains and granite piles, its rich treasures buried far beneath the surface, its comparatively unknown aboriginal people, its vast savannahs studded with every tropical plant, afforded a new and tempting field for the naturalist, for geology, for mineralogy, for astronomical observation, for botany, and the boundless research of the archaeologist, not only in the primitive formation of a continent, but the paleontological relations of a primitive race, with its buried architectural ruins; its national affinity and peculiar craniology, its linguistic comparison with other tongues, with its signs and symbols and hieroglyphic, were all in restless waiting to illuminate the vast temple of science, when struck by the wand of investigating genius.

These are the subjects which render the volumes of travels which I have been noticing alike attractive and instructing. But their voluminousness prevents a notice of the various topics discussed and illustrated in their pages. Yet their value may be estimated in part by a reference:

1. To the astronomical observations, trigonometrical operations and barometrical measurements he was enabled to make during the course of the journey.

2. The equinoctial plants collected in Mexico, in Cuba, the provinces of Caracas, Cumana and Barcelona, on the Andes of New Grenada, Quito and Peru, on the banks of the Rio Negro, Orinoco and Amazon. In which work Bonpland contributed figures of more than forty new

genera of plants of the torrid zone, classed according to their natural families, with methodical descriptions of the species in French and Latin.

3. Monography of the *Melastoma*, *Rhesia* and other genera; this order of plants comprising upwards of a hundred and fifty species *Melastomaceae*.

4. Essay on the geography of plants, accompanied by a physical table of the equinoctial regions, founded on measures taken from the tenth degree of northern to the tenth degree of southern latitude.

5. Observations on zoology and comparative anatomy.

6. Political essays on the Kingdom of New Spain, with physical and geographical atlas, founded on astronomical observations, and trigonometrical and barometrical measurements.

7. Views of the Cordilleras and monuments of the indigenous nations of the new continent; accompanied by an *Atlas Pittoresque ou vues des Cordilleras*: 1 vol. folio, with 69 plates.

This work, we are told, was intended to represent a few of the grand scenes which nature presents in the lofty chain of the Andes, and also to throw some light on the ancient civilization of America, through the study of monuments of architecture, hieroglyphics, religious rites, and astrological reveries, in which the *teocalli* or pyramids are compared in their structure with that of the temple of Belus, with a description of a number of symbolical paintings representing the serpent woman—the Mexican Eve—the deluge of Coxcox, and the first migrations of the natives of the Aztec race. It is worthy of the highest consideration, and I make the following quotation as indicative of the opinion of Humboldt upon a question which has excited the attention and distracted the view of learned men, *the diversity of the races*, and more especially do I make it because the authors of "The Types of Mankind," and of "Indigenous Races," claim the authority of his name, and the weight of his great learning as corroborative of their views. Speaking of the traditions of the deluge, he says: "These ancient traditions of the human race, which we find dispersed over the whole surface of the globe, like the relics of a vast shipwreck, are highly interesting in the philosophical studies of our own species. Like certain families of the vegetable kingdom, which notwithstanding the diversity of climates and the influence of heights, retain the impression of a common type, the traditions of nations respecting the origin of the world display everywhere the same physiognomy, and preserve features of resemblance that fill us with astonishment. How many different tongues, belonging to branches that appear totally distinct, transmit to us the same facts!" (Vol. ii., p. 183, Bohn's Scientific Library, London, 1852.) While the author does not express his opinion as decidedly as could be wished, when writing in another place, upon the same subject, yet his arguments are sufficient to convince the unprejudiced mind that he believed in the *unity of the human races*. (Idem, p. 473.)

In addition to which, the christian world is under lasting obligations

to the corroborative truth of science, which glows along the pages of these travels, and other works of Humboldt, in sustaining the common origin of our race, by the unity of primitive religious worship with the Aborigines of America, as well as establishing a bulwark, against which the infidel arguments of such men as Morton, Nott and Gliddon, fall harmless and impotent, though brought to bear under the deceptive guise of the perverted truths of science. And also placing upon impregnable grounds the primitive affinity which exist in monumental and architectural evidence, in language, in worship, between the Indians of America North and South, and the early inhabitants of Asia; a question which archaeologists must now consider settled beyond the successful dispute of infidel scholars and writers. I feel an anxiety to place Humboldt in the position he truly occupied, especially since he has been claimed as authority in favor of the diversity of the human races, by G. R. Gliddon, one of the erudite editors of those two remarkable books, "Types of Mankind," and "Indigenous Races of the Earth." To show that Mr. Gliddon was under some misapprehension, for no one doubts his sincerity, or his learning, I will simply make the following quotation:

"In my opinion, however, more powerful reasons can be advanced in support of the theory of the unity of the human race, as for instance, in the many intermediate gradations in the color of the skin, and in the form of the skull, which have been made known to us in recent times, by the rapid progress of geographical knowledge." (Here follows his reasons, to which the reader is referred — *Cosmos*, vol. i., pp. 362-8, Bohn's edition, London, 1849; translated from the German by E. C. Otte.) I am also satisfied that Mr. Gliddon has unintentionally misrepresented William Von Humboldt, the brother of Alexander, and the most distinguished linguist and philologist in Europe, who, in a learned work "On the Varieties of Languages and Nations," says: "Language, more than any other attribute of mankind, binds together the whole human race. By its idiomatic properties, it certainly seems to separate nations, but the reciprocal understanding of foreign languages connect men together on the other hand without injuring individual national characteristics." (*Cosmos*, same edition; note translated from William Von Humboldt's writings, by Otte; p. 369.) From this and other extracts which might be made, it is clear that William did not belong to that school of philosophy which believes in the diversity of the human races.

While on this subject, though we have no intention of entering into a discussion on comparative philology, yet the views of Alexander Humboldt on that subject, to be consistent with the opinion he entertained of the unity of the races, must coincide with those who maintain a common origin of languages. To this extent it seems that E. G. Squier, the most distinguished archaeologist in North America, and among her most learned men, has fallen into a mistake, when he says, speaking of the unity of the American race: "Humboldt, Vater, Prichard, Morton, Gallatin, Duponceau and Pickering, have thrown a

flood of light upon the subjects of which they have respectively treated, and it is a fact worthy of remark, that although pursuing different paths of research, they have, nevertheless, arrived at substantially the same results—the *unity* of the American race—and its radical difference in respect to all the other great families of the globe.” (*American Archaeological Researches*, by Squier, No. 1, p. 15.)

There is evidently in the clause quoted not only a confusion of authorities cited in connecting Humboldt and Prichard with those who disbelieve in the unity of the races, but a misapprehension of their opinions. It is well known that Prichard was among the earliest of European writers to discuss at length the much agitated question of the unity of the races, and contended for the affirmative in perhaps the ablest and most extensive work that has ever been published. Humboldt, I have shown, coincided with Prichard. He unquestionably contends for the unity of the American races, upon linguistic affinity, but he could not, believing as he did in the *entire unity* of the human race, have yielded the question, as to the “radical difference” of the American race, “in respect to all the other great families of the globe.” “This radical difference” of the races, is the very doctrine for which the anti-unity school contends, to which it is verily suspected from the writings of Mr. Squier, he belongs. But the position he assigns the great Nestor of Science, would be entirely inconsistent with his other views; if not to stultify him in the eyes of the world, which Mr. Squier could neither do nor even desire, for Humboldt is revered by all the sons of science in Europe and America.

The life of an author and of a man of books, presents but little incident that will interest the general reader. I will not therefore undertake to notice with any systematic detail, the herculean labors of this man, in preparing his many volumes for the press, the cheapest edition of which, I have been informed, could be purchased in Berlin for eighteen hundred and ninety-one dollars.

In 1809 he removed to Paris; the most important work he had written since his return to Europe from America, was “*Aspects of Nature*,” which was published in 1808—one of the few books that was written in his native tongue. When he wished to reach the scholars of Europe, he wrote in French or Latin, either of which made his works more accessible to the learned than if written in German. It was published in Berlin, and dedicated to his brother William. I have before me a translation by Mrs. Sabine, from the German, republished by Lea and Blanchard, from an English edition. It occupies a high position among the translated works of science, and has been favorably received as an accurate and faithful translation; of Mrs. Sabine personally or historically I know nothing. This book is very interesting, very instructive, and in some respects develops many curious and hitherto unknown truths in science. The work was always a favorite with the author, and was highly popular among the Germans. It contains an account of steppes and deserts. Steppes are plains of vast extent, uncultivated and often barren; they are more peculiar to Asia, and

synonymous with the *prairie* of North America, and the *llhano* of South America. They sometimes occur in Russia, and are not unlike the heaths of Germany, being occasionally susceptible of cultivation, and afford pasturage for the cattle of various nomadic tribes. It is to be regretted that this distinguished philosopher and traveler, who has generally confined himself to the description of phenomena, has so often overlooked their primary cause, yet by a careful examination of the paper on "steppes and deserts," the reader may ascertain the natural causes of these vast tracts of barren land, a question much discussed, and quite unsettled in the opinions of many. Yet it appears they can be traced to obvious causes, somewhat modified by locality. It is from the description, and natural events that play around these localities, that the enquiring student may seek the primary cause of their origin and existence.

Humboldt says: "In every zone nature presents the phenomena of these great plains; in each they have a peculiar physiognomy, determined by diversity of soil, by climate, and by elevation above the level of the sea." Let us then look to climatic causes. In speaking of the steppes in the interior of Africa, he informs us, "they are parts of a sea of sand, which, stretching eastward, separates fruitful regions from each other, or encloses them like islands; as where the desert near the basaltic mountains of Harendeh surrounds the oasis of Siwah, rich in date trees, and in which the ruins of the temple of Ammon mark the venerable site of an ancient civilization. Neither dew nor rain bathes these desolate plains or develops on their glowing surface the germs of vegetable life; for heated columns of air, everywhere ascending, dissolve the vapors, and disperse each swiftly vanishing cloud." This then is the cause of their barrenness. "Where the desert approaches the Atlantic Ocean, as between Wadihaw and Cape Blanco, the moist sea air pours in to supply the void left by these upward currents," and in such places we trace the cause of vegetation.

The largest steppe in the new world is the one which extends from the Caracas coast chain to the forest of Guiana, and from the snowy mountains of Nevada to the great delta formed by the Orinoco at its mouth, occupying a space of 256,000 (English) square miles. Like the greater portion of the Desert of Sahara, the northernmost of the South American plains, the llanos, are in the torrid zone; one half of the year they are desolate, during the other they are covered with grasses. The cause of this difference in vegetation must be that four-fifths of South America are situated on the southern side of the equator, and in a hemisphere which, from the greater proportion of the sea, is cooler than the northern half of the globe, to which the larger part of Africa belongs. Hence, according to Humboldt, "The llanos receive the influence of the tropical sea-wind, while the African deserts, being situated in the same zone of latitude as Arabia and the south of Persia, are in contact with stratas of air which have blown over warm, heat-radiating continents." In this is found the cause why vegetation and sometimes trees in moist spots are found on the llanos, and no growth whatever on the African deserts.

We are told by the author, among the causes which lessen both heat and dryness in the new world, may be classed the "narrowness and deep indentation of the American land in the northern part of the torrid zone, where, consequently, the atmosphere resting on a liquid base does not present so heated an ascending current; the extension of the continent towards the poles; the expanse of ocean over which the trade-winds sweep freely, acquiring thereby a cooler temperature; the flatness of the eastern coasts; currents of cold sea-water from the Antarctic regions, which coming from the southwest to the northeast, first strike the coast of Chili in the parallel of 35° south latitude, and advance along the coast of Peru as far north as Cape Pasina, and then turn suddenly to the west; the numerous lofty mountain chains, rich in springs, whose snow clad summits, rising high above the strata of clouds, cause descending currents of cold air to roll down their declivities; the abundance of rivers of enormous breadth which, after many windings, seek the most distant coast; steppes, which from not being sandy, are less susceptible of acquiring a high degree of heat; impenetrable forests occupying alluvial plains situated immediately beneath the equator, protecting with their shade the soil beneath from the direct influence of the sunbeams, and exhaling, in the interior of the country, at a great distance from the mountains and from the ocean, vast quantities of moisture, partly imbibed and partly elaborated." Thus has he given us, in a sentence, a body of truth beautiful and grand, and unfolding at a touch a large volume of the philosophy of nature in her most beneficent dealings with the interest of the new continent. But in addition to the above, he philosophically concludes, that while profound obscurity veils the period of such an event, it is highly probable that an irruption of the ocean may have been the first great cause which transformed considerable parts of Africa into such dreadful deserts.

Among the most peculiar phenomena of the new world may be mentioned the prairies of the western part of North America. We have searched the voluminous pages of Humboldt to find something upon this subject, but in vain. He has given a convincing explanation of the natural causes which operate to produce the steppes of Asia and the llanos of South America, which are attributed to climatic influences. The prairies of the West are also attributable to the same causes, but the phenomena is unexplained—and is somewhat different. Why Humboldt has ignored this subject, it is impossible to tell; other authors have attempted the explanations, why a skirt of woods, in particular localities, and then vast plains with only luxuriant grasses, and no tree or shrub. But the true cause has not been embraced in any work it has been my fortune to meet with, and though various theories have been advanced, we cannot make the digression to notice them.

Among the most interesting and beautiful of the papers contained in this volume may be noticed the one on the "Physiognomy of Plants." A novel, but not inappropriate phrase; when we reflect that the

nature, habits and disposition of plants are accurately perceived by the skillful botanist, as he examines the form and feature, leaf and flower, which reflect, like the human face, those laws which in a great measure proclaim the workings of moral and intellectual nature. We recognize in the human family distinct nationalities, so each region of the earth presents its natural growth with national physiognomy, determining its locality, and marking its very habits and disposition. Similar forms of trees—pines and oaks—adorn the declivities of the mountains of Sweden, and those of the most southern part of Mexico. Yet we are informed that notwithstanding these correspondences of form, and this similarity of outline in the component parts of the picture, their grouping gives to the whole the greatest difference of character. Our author, with much force, remarks: "Those who can view nature with a comprehensive glance, and apart from local phenomena, may see from the poles to the equator organic life and vigor gradually augment with the augmentation of vivifying heat. But in the course of this progressive increase, there are reserved to each its own peculiar beauties; to the tropics, variety and grandeur of vegetable forms; to the north, the aspect of its meadows and green pastures, and the periodic reawakening of nature at the first breath of the mild air of spring. Each zone, besides its own peculiar advantages, has its own distinctive character. Primeval laws of organization, notwithstanding a certain degree of freedom in the abnormal development of single parts, bind all animal and vegetable forms to fixed, ever-recurring types."

"The Aspects of Nature" form the most sprightly and elegant collection of essays which we have met with from the pen of this author; not discarding stern facts, he has invested his themes with a vivacity of style unusual to grave philosophy. He has thrown around it his ardent admiration for nature with all the picturesque hues of poetry, while still mindful of the harmonious and concurrent action of the different powers and forces of nature. In his eightieth year he enjoyed the satisfaction of issuing a third edition of this work, with copious annotations to meet the requirements of advancing science. "To minds oppressed with the cares or the sorrows of life, the soothing influence of the contemplation of nature is peculiarly precious, and to such these pages are more especially dedicated." In 1807, Alexander Humboldt removed to Paris. Here, surrounded by his extensive collections in natural history, he commenced the preparation of his books of travels in South America. Paris was the most eligible situation in the world for the preparation of such a work. No city at that time could boast such a circle of literary and scientific men, all of whom were the associates, many the personal friends of our author. Here was Berthollet, Cuvier, Laplace, Arago, Biah, Gay-Lussac, Latreille, Vauquelin, Klaproth, Kunth and Bonpland, bright constellations revolving in their orbits around Humboldt, the great central light of Science.

The preparation of such a work according to the grand conception of

the author, could not be completed as he would have it done by any one man in a lifetime. Consequently he gathered to his assistance some of those eminent men who clustered around him. He was to write not only a book of travels, but the geography, the geology, the botany, the mineralogy—indeed, the natural history of the new world. With the utmost system and regularity, we are told by his biographer, Bayard Taylor, that he divided his materials into six parts. First the narrative of his journey, its zoology and anatomy, then its political aspects, its astronomy and magnetism, its geology and its botany. In receiving the assistance of his friends, to Arago and Gay-Lussac he assigned the department of chemistry and meteorology, Latreille and Cuvier, astronomy, Bonpland and Kunth, botany, while he would superintend their labors, and prepare the narrative of the journey. He remained in Paris, with occasional visits and travels to other countries, from 1808 to 1827, during which period his "Journey to the Equinoctial Regions" was published, with a long list of other books, essays, maps and charts, a catalogue of which is even too lengthy for insertion in this paper.

The seventeen years he spent in Paris were devoted to the most intense labor, but bending over books and paper, maps and instruments, surrounded by every specimen of natural history, affords no incident that will please the world, though the learned will admire, and the general reader gaze in astonishment at the products of his mighty mind and ceaseless pen.

In 1827 he returned to Berlin; the King received him with open arms, the citizens welcomed him back, for his fame and talents would reflect renown upon the proud and intellectual capital of Prussia. The King conferred upon him the title of Privy Councillor, and would have made him Secretary of State, but he would not forego the pleasures of science for the intrigues of politics, and the tricks of diplomacy. He had a grander scheme in conception than had ever entered the mind of the politician. It had occupied his thoughts for many years. Amidst the plains of South America, on the rugged cliffs of the Chimborazo, or the frozen steppes of Russia, pursuing his journey to distant lands, on the rolling ocean, gazing on the starry world on high, or peering into volcanic depths, in the gay saloons of Paris, or amidst the musty tomes of the library, it was the great thought on which turned his scientific labors, the monumental basis on which the fabric of his fame was to rest, the mighty reservoir of the accumulated knowledge of three quarters of a century; it was the "Cosmos."

The idea of the "Cosmos" was shadowed forth in a course of sixty-one lectures on the *Universe*, commenced on the 3d of November, 1827, and concluded the 26th of April, 1828. They were delivered at the university building in Berlin, which was densely crowded on every occasion. The king and royal family, the court, learned professors and authors, the rich, the noble, with the beauty and refinement of the capital, the scientific men of distant lands—for Humboldt's fame was radiating over all Europe; even the plowmen and the artizans, all crowded to the lecture room, to hear this "myriad-minded" man.

In 1834, Humboldt wrote: "I begin the printing of my work (the work of my life). I have the extravagant idea of describing in one and the same work the whole material world—all that we know to-day of celestial bodies, and of life upon the earth, from the nebular stars to the mosses on the granite rocks—and to make this work instructive to the mind, and at the same time attractive by its vivid language, every great and sparkling idea must be noticed side by side with its attendant facts. The work shall represent an epoch of the intellectual development of mankind in their knowledge of nature." Bacon conceived the same idea in the "Phenomena of the Universe," though he was from his comparatively limited knowledge, unable to elaborate it as did Humboldt. Indeed it may be said the great Lord Chancellor had the faint shadows of a more extensive conception in the "Description of the Intellectual Globe," in which he would treat of human learning, embracing it all under the heads of history, poesy and philosophy, according to the three faculties of the mind, memory, imagination and reason. If Bacon caught the idea, which went not beyond a desire, Humboldt not only cleared away the ground, laid the broad and massive foundation stones upon solid soil, but erected thereon the mighty temple of Cosmos itself, in comparison with which the "intellectual globe" of Bacon, let the conception be what it may, dwindles into a dim and distant nebulae.

We are struck with a remark made by his eminent friend and biographer, Klencke, which should be quoted as a lesson to scientific men. He says, "These lectures of Humboldt were also new and remarkable in respect to the position which he took towards the people. For while other learned men, whose social position is always higher than that of the people, nearly all, in their scientific and academic pride, did not deem it worth their while to disseminate their knowledge among the people, whom it must ultimately most benefit, while they generally keep their learning as the property and mystery of a caste, and interchange it among themselves, while they consider it *infra dignitatis*, and degrading for a man of science to popularize his knowledge; Alexander Von Humboldt set them the noble example that a baron, a chamberlain, and confidential adviser of his king, did not consider it beneath his rank and dignity to appear publicly as the teacher of his favorite science. He shewed that a true man of science does not attach himself to an exclusive caste, and that all considerations of birth, rank and title, are as nothing in the high service of science. And thus Alexander, in the impulses of his heart and mind, fulfilled the noble duty which the mentally-gifted man owes to his people, of bestowing on them, and instructing them with the rich treasure of his knowledge and experience, thereby raising them nearer himself."

It was after the delivery of these lectures that our author traveled extensively in Asia, Russia and China, gathering fresh materials for his Cosmos. The same course of lectures had been delivered in the French language, at Paris, that he delivered in the German at Berlin, yet he had no notes, and in his old age he sat down to write out the great work

not only of his life, but of the age in which he lived, if not the greatest scientific work of any age, the *Novum Organum* and the *Principia* alone excepted, in point of practical utility, but far below it in point of comprehensive and almost universal learning. The first volume was published in 1844—when the author was seventy five years old—day after day, night after night, with mind undimmed by increasing age, he labored on this his cherished work, publishing at irregular periods, succeeding volumes, until in his ninetieth year he completed the work by revising and correcting for sixteen hours a day the proof sheets of the fifth and last volume.

What boundless satisfaction in the evening of life to see embodied in undying form the image that had floated before his mind for nearly a half century. It is impossible to review such a work as the *Cosmos*, but we shall in our next issue endeavor to make some profitable references to it.

ART. III.—CONDUCT OF THE WAR AND REFLECTIONS ON THE TIMES.

Law and liberty are the opposing forces that keep societies and governments alive. Too much of law or too much of liberty are equally destructive to human well-being. Under the influence of over legislation individual action is too much restricted, and society stagnates and retrogrades. When there is, on the other hand, too little of law, anarchy supervenes, the strong oppress the weak, and might becomes right. There is always equal danger that the world will be too much or too little governed. Yet it is most strange and unaccountable, that in all ages the European races have commended liberty as a good, and thereby inferentially condemned law and government as evils, for law and government are the negation of liberty.

These remarks would be treated as useless abstractions, and pass unheeded in ordinary times, but now every one perceives the necessity of restricting, nay, of banishing liberty, for the time, in order that when peace is restored, we may again enjoy a reasonable amount of it. Nobody however looks forward to or hopes for that lorn rule, and approximation to anarchy, that made our institutions under the late Union, the laughing stock of Europe. Excess of liberty was the evil under which we labored until a few months past. Now martial law has corrected all that, and everybody hails martial law as a blessing. The whole white male population of the South, between the ages of 18 and 35, have, through their representatives, "aliened life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Their slaves are ten times freer than themselves. Yet everybody feels that all this is eminently right. Liberty and slavery are neither good of themselves, good when unrestricted, but only good when duly apportioned and balanced, and administered *pathologically*, as times, circumstances, sex, classes, ages, individuals and races may require.

Our rulers, State and Confederate, Legislative and Executive, have, of late, shown themselves admirable pathologists, and seeing that the nation was sick of too much liberty, have dosed it well with law, which is the negation and corrective of excess of liberty.

In Richmond, where we reside, the declaration of martial law has banished panic, reassured the people, and given a feeling of safety and security to all our citizens. Liberty of speech and liberty of the press are sufficiently restricted by a stringent public opinion, which no man dares tamper with. If they were not thus restrained the public authorities would readily step in, and punish or incarcerate any one who, by indiscreet talk or indiscreet writing, jeopardized the public safety. You meet at every corner of the street armed men, who preserve order, keep the peace, and turn over to summary punishment the criminal and disorderly. Prices are regulated by law, extortioners punished, and the making or vending of liquor strictly prohibited.

This is not liberty, but the reverse of it, yet none but the corrupt and criminal object to it. The right to cheat and swindle your neighbor is suspended for the present, and it may be that hereafter, when peace is restored, that we may discover that this free trade principle is not indispensable to the well-being of society.

LIMITED GOVERNMENTS.—Our present experience will teach us another valuable lesson, to wit: "that limited governments, or governments with written constitutions, are unnatural and impracticable." England is in the true and only true sense, a limited or constitutional government; but there the only limits to the power of government are time-honored precedents, and the checks and balances which commons, lords, the church and the throne interpose to each other. Hence, it has been truly said that "king, lords and commons may do anything except make a man a woman." Hers is a government "at all points" ready to meet and apply the proper means to any exigencies that may arise, and to wield the whole unrestricted power of the nation to cope with any inimical people. No one can foresee what a day may bring forth, and therefore it is rash and unwise to prescribe fixed, unbending rules for our future conduct, and still more unwise and rash to prescribe such rules for the conduct of others. What would become of a child in the jostle and struggle of life, if at its birth a programme of its conduct through life, strictly prescribing what it should and what it should not do, were to be the guide of its conduct through life. A human being with such limited powers of action, would not be a greater absurdity than a government of a nation similarly limited, for the exigencies of national life are as various, complex and unforeseen as those of individual life. Yet a written constitution is a programme of conduct prescribed at the birth of a nation, for its future conduct throughout all time. Or at best it is an attempt to make an organic law, which may not be changed readily as occasions for change may arise.

The Constitution of our Confederacy provides that "after the 1st March, 1863, the expenses of the Post Office Department shall be paid out of its own revenue." If this be done, the people will be deprived

of a great part of their accustomed mail and traveling facilities, and great inconvenience and stagnation of trade will occur. And yet there is little probability that a change of Constitution can be made soon enough to meet the emergency. Such regulations are the proper subjects of statute law, which can readily be made or changed to suit varying occasions.

A nation trammelled with a written constitution is like a man with his hands manacled. Its capacity for action is cramped and diminished.

Our Confederacy, like all other nations and confederacies, has an unwritten constitution, which consists of the sympathies, instincts, community of interests and necessities, that brought us together and will hold us together, and in the institutions and laws which we derived from England, gradually and insensibly modified to suit our republican society. This unwritten constitution, like all true constitutions, has been the work of nature and of time, and when closely analyzed, will be found to be nothing more than that social status which is as old as man himself.

On the other hand, our written constitution is one-half a mere league or treaty between Sovereign States, and the other, statute law, which will require frequent change, and yet is so awkwardly contrived that timely changes can scarce ever be made. We ought to have a Convention every two years to modify the constitution, so as to adapt it to new exigencies and emergencies. The frequent changes of State constitutions show that they are in truth mere statute laws, which can seldom provide for the distant future.

All of our great statesmen and great jurists have been as blind as bats on this subject, and quite overlooked our real, natural, God-given, unwritten constitutions, whilst they perplexed themselves and their readers with learned disquisitions on written constitutions which were not, and in the nature of things never could be, constitutions at all. Not constitutions, nor a whit more like constitutions than a horse is like an alderman. The doctor who should mistake the diet and physic which he administers to his patient for the patient's constitution, would be deemed a great blockhead; yet precisely such blockheads are all who mistake human regulations of society for the constitution of society. They are in truth but its diet and its physic, whilst real constitutions are the vital principles impressed on societies and nations at their birth.

Written limitations of power are worthless. Institutional limitations are invaluable. The Confederate Government will be sufficiently checked, limited and restrained by the institution of the Senate, the House of Representatives, the Judiciary and the Executive, which will rarely unite in any act of injustice or tyranny. If they should, the separate States are each institutions clothed with the power of secession, that will keep the combined powers of the Confederate Government within proper limits of action.

The checks, balances and limitations of governmental power are all institutional, none constitutional. Such is the theory and practice of

the English Government, and such is the practice of all Governments. Among civilized people there never was a pure and simple despotism or monarchy, because among such peoples there are always many institutions that check, mitigate and limit the power of the monarch.

The Confederate Constitution is a mere tub thrown over to the whale. No intelligent man who voted for it deemed it would be permanent; but only considered it a temporary expedient, a giving way, for the time, to popular prejudices, a bridge or passway between mobocracy and anarchy, and conservative republicanism.

We are continually assembling conventions, clothed with sovereign power, to remodel our State institutions, and to establish principles of universal and eternal right. These conventions are chosen by the same people who elect our members of the lower and upper Houses of the Legislature, our Judiciary and our Executive. It would be a thousand times more sensible and prudent procedure to invest our ordinary functionaries of Government, the two Houses of the Legislature, the Judiciary and the Governor, with sovereign power, than to invest sovereignty in a single body (a convention), because in the former case we have checks and balances, and in the latter none. Never, in the history of the Caucasian race, has so stupid and impracticable a body of men met together as the late Virginia Convention, yet they were clothed with sovereign power, whilst our Governor, Senate and our House of Delegates and Judiciary, with ten times their intellect and twenty times their patriotism, were restricted in their powers, and liable to be removed or neutralized by this contemptible convention. Delegate sovereign power to the combined branches of our State Governments and we shall need no more conventions, no more absurd and ridiculous written constitutions. Refuse this sovereign power, and you have but an imperfect, half made up government. A government just as defective as a man without eyes or ears, or legs, or arms. No people can be well ruled by a government of limited powers—by a constitutional government.

There is another objection to written constitutions, that like all legislative compromises, platforms, and preambles and resolutions they mean nothing or anything just as the party in power chooses to construe. They are formed by men whose theories of government differ and conflict, and hence the instruments themselves are replete with contradictory and unmeaning provisions. In every compromise between astute politicians, the various terms of compromise are tendered in one sense and accepted in another. We know from the history of all constitution making that they are but compromises, and that the men who make them never afterwards agree as to their meaning. Nay, even in the instances of platforms and legislative compromises, which have much fewer provisions than constitutions, there never was an instance in which their framers agreed as to their meaning. Such instruments are always carefully worded with a double or a dozen meanings, so as to deceive, gull and entrap. A great debate, like that of Webster and Hayne's, about the meaning of a constitution, is always a Kilkenny cat

fight, in which the combatants eat each other up and not a tip end of a tail is left. There is abundance in the United States Constitution to justify the States rights construction, and quite enough in it to satisfy the most thorough consolidationist. No wonder Hayne and Webster "ate each other." To do so was the naturalest and simplest logical operation imaginable.

NORTHERN NATIONAL DEBT.—Doctor Johnson, although he liked Goldsmith, underrated his abilities whilst he lived and probably over-rated them after his death. The thing happened in this wise: Goldsmith made Johnson his executor, and Johnson could find no estate, but discovered an enormous amount of indebtedness. He was forthwith struck with wonder, amazement and admiration at the fertility of expedient and wonderful genius of a poor author who had run up a debt of twenty thousand pounds. It was an indisputable monument of greatness which he bequeathed to posterity. It was surprising! prodigious! And from that day forth Johnson ceased to dub Goldsmith Doctor Minimus, and learned to venerate his memory.

The North, 'tis said, has run in debt largely over a thousand millions within the last twelve months, and is now incurring debt at the rate of five millions a day. This beats Goldsmith all hollow, and John Bull is seized with profounder admiration than was Executor Johnson on occasion first aforesaid. Never before did nation run in debt with equal facility, and we venture to predict that they will get out of debt with still greater facility; wipe it off as fast and easily as truant school-boy wipes off figures from his slate. National bankruptcy at the North is inevitable and desirable; desirable, because the payment of the interest on their national debt would impose an intolerable burden on the laboring class, for it is the laboring class alone who pay taxes, because they create all values. The holders of the national debt would be masters and the laborers slaves, if the debt be not repudiated. If repudiated, the North as a whole would be no poorer; nay, she would be richer, because hundreds of thousands of idlers, who would otherwise live on the dividends of Government stock, would be compelled to become productive laborers, and the wealth is best measured by the amount of its productive labor. Repudiation would go far to ruin the now wealthy classes, but as it would tend to bring about social democratic equality, the rich, who are generally socialists, should not complain of it.

The North can carry on the war after national bankruptcy just as well as before, if she can procure enough of men and munitions of war. This she can if her own people will credit the Government, and take its paper issues as money; and further provided there is enough surplus labor at the North to support the people who remain at home, and equip and support their enormous army and fleet. We do not believe they have sufficient surplus labor to carry on a war like the present for a year longer; but we are sure that a very few months will so cripple the credit of government, as to render its paper issues unavailable as money. The rich must see that a slow, silent, but sure process of

agrarianism is being carried on by means of the accumulation of a national debt hereafter to be repudiated; and they will refuse longer to lend or to credit the government. So soon as this happens the war must cease, and occur it must very shortly. We maintained from the first that we could only succeed in this war by exhausting the strength of the North, not by defeating her armies or by invading her territories. It is much better to hold her armies at bay, to checkmate them than to defeat them, for defeat exasperates her and incites to redoubled exertions.

ASPECT OF THE WAR.—The three great armies of the North are the one under Halleck, Grant and Buell in the southwest, the one in the peninsula under McClellan, and one opposite Fredericksburg commanded by McDowell. It is not very improbable that each of these armies may endeavor to retire without fighting. If they evince a disposition to do so, we think the war would be sooner ended by permitting them to retire unmolested, than by defeating them. Such retreats would be a distinct admission that the South was unconquerable, and the North might make peace without loss of honor. But if we defeat those armies it will exasperate the whole North and unite their people in the further prosecution of the war in order to redeem their tarnished reputation, however hopeless they may deem the conquest of the South. There is yet a stronger reason for the course we indicate. Humanity demands that we shall win, if we can, bloodless victories rather than bloody ones. To defeat these three armies in open combat will cost oceans of the best blood of the South, and we should not shed a drop of it unnecessarily.

If the Yankee army in the southwest does not retire before the fall of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers, it will ultimately be defeated and captured, no matter how many victories it may win for a time. Each of its victories will diminish its strength and numbers, and it will be too far from home to recruit its strength. Defeats will but nerve us to greater exertions, and our losses will be easily repaired from the population around us.

Should an army attempt to march from Fredericksburg to Richmond, it will be cut to pieces very soon after it gets out of reach of its gunboats. We doubt whether it will dare cross the Rappahannock.

Richmond may possibly be taken by gunboats coming up the James River, but if McClellan succeeds by aid of those boats in getting his army here, we feel pretty confident he will never get it away from here, except as prisoners of war. It is rash to attempt to predict what a day may bring forth, but not so difficult or presumptuous to foretell the more distant future. The lights of history are a safe guide in enabling us to ascertain beforehand with an approximation to truth what will be the ultimate result of a war like the present. We know the South cannot be subjugated, and we feel confident that in a few more weeks the North will itself be satisfied of this, and that if the war does not cease, it will at least dwindle to insignificant proportions. This article will not see the light until our predictions are fulfilled or falsified. At

any event it may be interesting hereafter to see what were the hopes, expectations and apprehensions of a Southerner at this critical moment. We write on the 25th of April, and have just heard that two Federal gunboats have passed Fort Jackson, and that McClellan, foiled in the peninsula, is withdrawing his forces to the Rappahannock, to proceed from thence to Richmond by land. Nothing but desperation, it seems to us, could induce him to resort to such a scheme. In the peninsula he has an excellent base of operations; on the Rappahannock he will have none, and will besides have to cross two rivers before he gets to Richmond. We don't believe he will attempt, and doubt much whether the Federal army on the north side of the river near Fredericksburg, will ever attempt to cross that river.

We hope New Orleans will not be taken, but if the people east and west of the river can fight their own battles without aid from the opposite side. The summer crops will soon be ripe in the south, and each section produces all the absolute necessities of life in abundance. Breaking up of railroads may starve an invading enemy, but cannot starve us.

As the enemy attacks the interior we move and concentrate our troops much more rapidly than they do. We have only to sacrifice towns on the seacoast of minor importance, by withdrawing our troops from them, and we can readily meet their three grand invading armies with superior forces. This policy, we think, the Administration, aided by an able Cabinet, and Generals of great strategic ability, is now carrying out with wonderful rapidity and efficiency. Until now this could not be done, both because a land invasion had not fairly begun, and because the people did not see the necessity of the temporary sacrifices of territory which such a policy involves.

This war has been conducted by the South with great ability from the first. When it began the North only threatened to put in the field some two hundred thousand men. She took the initiative, begun the war, yet by the middle of July last we had as many troops in the field as she. After the battle of Manassas, as was natural, we relaxed our exertions, and were content with enlistments for a year, because we believed the war would not last longer than a year. But the North, regardless of incurring national bankruptcy, brought thereafter into the field a force larger than had ever before been levied from a population of her numbers. Such conduct on her part could hardly have been anticipated by our rulers, because it was without precedent in the history of nations. But had it been anticipated, ours is a popular government, and it was not until after the fall of Fort Donelson that our people became roused to the necessities of the occasion, and willing to make the sacrifices that the emergency required. Until then it would have been in vain for our governments, State or Federal, to have called out anything like a levy *en masse*. That is now done, and we have a force in the field quite large enough to cope with and conquer our enemies, if we could only get at them. Taking our cities subjects us to privations for a time, but rather increases than diminishes our military strength.

Men see now that to be restored to their properties they must win them back by force of arms. We shall gather courage from despair. Our people, our soldiers, and our civil rulers have acted wisely and bravely throughout this war. We had no navy, and a navy cannot be improvised. Hence our disasters. But navies cannot conquer the broad domain of the South. We again undertake to prophesy and predict that the South will soon exhibit, in her conduct of the war, an example of the moral sublime, unsurpassed in modern times, and that her struggle will be crowned with speedy and glorious success.

April 26.—Yesterday was a day of gloomy despondency here in Richmond; not however a day of panic like those that succeeded the fall of Donelson. People have become used to and hardened by reverses. Probably if they had arms in their hands, instead of indulging in useless repinings, they would be eager to repair in battle the losses which they have sustained. Brave men often quail before disasters which no courage or exertion can avert. In such circumstances women display more firmness than men. They are now less disgusted and despondent than most of the men. Yesterday it was rumored that New Orleans had fallen. The report *seems* confirmed by telegraphic dispatches; nevertheless we doubt it. But be it so! What else had we to expect when the war began? We had no navy, the enemy a large and powerful one, and the best mercantile marine in the world, ready to be converted into a navy. We ought to have deemed it probable, almost inevitable, that wherever ships or gunboats could reach we should be defeated. The wonder is it was not done sooner. Our successes by land, when they were out of reach of their vessels, have been far more remarkable and uninterrupted than theirs by water. Not a twentieth of our vast Southern domain adjoins the seashore or the banks of navigable rivers. If they take all of our seacoast and river towns, it will but concentrate our forces, which are now scattered at a hundred points, vainly attempting to defend by land towns attacked by water. And when they capture those towns they must divert a large part of their force to occupy and hold them. Thus we shall be strengthened and they weakened.

FREE TRADE.—It is now obvious that the leading European powers will not intervene in American affairs until both North and South are crippled and exhausted by long continuance of hostilities; when they hope to impose terms of peace degrading to both belligerents, and redounding to the advantage of the intervening powers. This course of conduct is very natural, and we should be prepared to meet it.

It is probable that England and France would require of the South as the price of intervention that for a long series of years, the products of those countries should be introduced into the South free of duty, and that no export duties should be imposed on Southern products sent those countries.

This would place us in precisely the same abject subjection to France and England that Ireland now suffers from a similar relation with England. The evils that oppress and pauperize Ireland arise solely

from free trade with England. Capital, skill, science, fashion have all quit Ireland and are all centralised in England. Ireland belongs to men who live in England, and who tax and exploit Irish labor to spend or accumulate the results in England. Shallow thinkers have long held that absenteeism was the great cause of Irish poverty, ignorance and misery; but absenteeism is the necessary result of free trade between two nations, the one possessing many advantages and attractions as a residence, the other very few.

Under the late Union the South by means of free trade was exploited by the North just as Ireland is by England. Will our rulers never learn the meaning of the term *exploitation*? Will they never learn that in the war of free trade, the war of the wits, the war of making bargains, where unequals meet, the weaker must go to the wall? Will they never learn that the people who till the earth, are always cheated (exploited) when they deal with mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, artists and professional men, because the former exchange a great deal of the results of their hard labor, for a little of the results of the light labor of the latter? Do they not know if our dealings with England and the North be not trammelled by high duties we shall be their slaves and dependents? Does not this war teach us that too much of free trade has made us absolutely dependent on foreign nations for some of the necessities of life and for the munitions of war?

Above all, do they not know that the free trade or *laissez faire* doctrine, is simply, purely, entirely and historically an abolition doctrine? That it grew up out of the liberation of the European serfs which placed men in condition of competition, antagonism and seeming equality?

The Confederate Constitution gives scope enough to remedy this monster evil, if Congress will wisely exercise the power vested in it. With the consent of Congress any State may "lay imposts or duties on imports or exports." Let Congress at once give permission to every State to lay such imposts or duties on imports as it pleases, and the evil will be remedied without begetting sectional injustice. The border States, and probably North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, will impose State duties to protect manufactures, and thus national independence will be secured without resort to an unfair, unequal and sectionally oppressive measure like the United States Protective tariff. Domestic industry should be left to State regulation.

The nations of Europe have no sympathy for us. They are inimical to our slave institutions, and equally inimical to our republican form of government. They would be glad to see the North become a monarchy, the Southern slaves liberated, and the South itself made a subject province of the North. They have spurned the boon of free trade which we offered to them, and are ready to submit to the prohibitory duties of the North. We can readily produce all the necessities and luxuries of life within ourselves, and our territory is large enough for a world within itself. We want neither foreigners nor foreign notions among us. The former have generally proved traitors, and the latter

teach treason. We must isolate ourselves, pursue an exclusive and seclusive policy, or we shall become the contemptible imitators of people, whose doctrines, habits, customs and institutions antagonize with ours. We shall thus imbibe a slow poison that will gradually undermine our whole social and political fabric.

When this war commenced the planters were cautioned not to send their cotton to any of our seaboard towns, because they were all liable to be taken by the enemy's ships. We entered into the war affecting to be prepared to lose those towns, and now the bare rumor that one of them is lost unnerves too many of us.

We propose hereafter to give a sort of diary, not so much of events, as of the reflections and feelings which they occasion. It is hard to recall, after even a short lapse of time, what we thought and felt on past occasions. Sympathizing fully with the vast majority of the Southern people, our remarks on the occurrences of the day, written down as events transpire, may present hereafter a somewhat life-like picture of these stirring times. The war, however, will not be our only subject. We shall indulge in reflections and comments on whatever occurs to us as interesting in our civil as well as military affairs; and now proceed to submit some remarks on the subject of free trade.

MONDAY MORNING, 28th of April.—The Richmond *Enquirer* (which throughout this war has fully sustained its ancient fame) well remarks in its issue of this morning, "one effect of the fall of New Orleans will be to liberate, for more active operations, the large army which has been stationed there for its defence; many thousand men have been compelled to stand by and see a great city taken by comparative hundreds, because they could not reach them. But if joined to Beauregard they shall enable him to overpower Buell and redeem Tennessee and Kentucky, who shall say we have not gained more than we have lost?"

Probably ere long Mobile, Savannah, Charleston and Norfolk will share the fate of New Orleans. If so the Yankees must detail hundreds of thousands of men to hold our captured cities, and we shall disengage from their defence a hundred thousand soldiers, to be added to our interior forces. Then the war will linger in earnest. The Federals must do what they now are afraid to do; fight us in the open field with neither forts or gunboats to retreat to. They have heretofore been merely warring against our outposts; when they march into the interior, they are destined to meet with speedy and signal overthrow. Our people cannot submit, for the tendered terms of submission are worse than death. To have our property four-fifths of it confiscated, and the balance taxed to confiscation point, and to have four millions of our slaves liberated and put on an equality with ourselves, is a fate we never can be subjected to. It would be easier for the North to exterminate us than to subjugate. But she will do neither, and the day of our delivery is at hand.

ART. IV.—OUR DANGER AND OUR DUTY.

The ravages of Louis XIV. in the beautiful valleys of the Rhine, about the close of the seventeenth century, may be taken as a specimen of the appalling desolation which is likely to overspread the Confederate States, if the Northern army should succeed in its schemes of subjugation and of plunder. Europe was then outraged by atrocities inflicted by Christians upon Christians, more fierce and cruel than even Mahometans could have had the heart to perpetrate. Private dwellings were razed to the ground, fields laid waste, cities burnt, churches demolished, and the fruits of industry wantonly and ruthlessly destroyed. But three days of grace were allowed to the wretched inhabitants to flee their country, and in a short time, the historian tells us, "the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children, flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger; but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers." And what have we to expect if our enemies prevail? Our homes, too, are to be pillaged, our cities sacked and demolished, our property confiscated, our true men hanged, and those who escape the gibbet, to be driven as vagabonds and wanderers in foreign climes. This beautiful country is to pass out of our hands. The boundaries which mark our States are, in some instances, to be effaced, and the States that remain are to be converted into subject provinces, governed by Northern rulers and by Northern laws. Our property is to be ruthlessly seized and turned over to mercenary strangers, in order to pay the enormous debt which our subjugation has cost. Our wives and daughters are to become the prey of brutal lust. The slave, too, will slowly pass away, as the red man did before him, under the protection of Northern philanthropy; and the whole country, now like the garden of Eden in beauty and fertility, will first be a blackened and smoking desert, and then the minister of Northern cupidity and avarice. Our history will be worse than that of Poland and Hungary. There is not a single redeeming feature in the picture of ruin which stares us in the face, if we permit ourselves to be conquered. It is a night of thick darkness that will settle upon us. Even sympathy, the last solace of the afflicted, will be denied to us. The civilized world will look coldly upon us, or even jeer us with the taunt that we have deservedly lost our own freedom in seeking to perpetuate the slavery of others. We shall perish under a cloud of reproach and of unjust suspicious, sedulously propagated by our enemies, which will be harder to bear than the loss of home and of goods. Such a fate never overtook any people before.

The case is as desperate with our enemies as with ourselves. They must succeed or perish. They must conquer us or be destroyed themselves. If they fail, national bankruptcy stares them in the face; divisions in their own ranks are inevitable, and their Government will fall to pieces under the weight of its own corruption. They know they

are a doomed people if they are defeated. Hence their madness. They must have our property to save them from insolvency. They must show that the Union cannot be dissolved, to save them from future secessions. The parties, therefore, in this conflict can make no compromises. It is a matter of life and death with both—a struggle in which their *all* is involved.

But the consequences of success on our part will be very different from the consequences of success on the part of the North. If *they* prevail, the whole character of the Government will be changed, and instead of a federal republic, the common agent of sovereign and independent States, we shall have a central despotism, with the notion of States forever abolished, deriving its powers from the will, and shaping its policy according to the wishes, of a numerical majority of the people; we shall have, in other words, a supreme, irresponsible democracy. The will of the North will stand for law. The Government does not now recognize itself as an ordinance of God, and when all the checks and balances of the Constitution are gone, we may easily figure to ourselves the career and the destiny of this godless monster of democratic absolutism. The progress of regulated liberty on this continent will be arrested, anarchy will soon succeed, and the end will be a military despotism, which preserves order by the sacrifice of the last vestige of liberty. We are fully persuaded that the triumph of the North in the present conflict will be as disastrous to the hopes of mankind as to our own fortunes. They are now fighting the battle of despotism. They have put their Constitution under their feet; they have annulled its most sacred provisions; and in defiance of its solemn guaranties, they are now engaged, in the halls of Congress, in discussing and maturing bills which make Northern notions of necessity the paramount laws of the land. The avowed end of the present war is, to make the Government a government of force. It is to settle the principle, that whatever may be its corruptions and abuses, however unjust and tyrannical its legislation, there is no redress, except in vain petition or empty remonstrance. It was as a protest against this principle, which sweeps away the last security for liberty, that Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Missouri seceded, and if the Government should be reestablished, it must be reestablished with this feature of remorseless despotism firmly and indelibly fixed. The future fortunes of our children, and of this continent, would then be determined by a tyranny which has no parallel in history.

On the other hand, we are struggling for constitutional freedom. We are upholding the great principles which our fathers bequeathed us, and if we should succeed, and become, as we shall, the dominant nation of this continent, we shall perpetuate and diffuse the very liberty for which Washington bled, and which the heroes of the Revolution achieved. We are not revolutionists—we are resisting revolution. We are upholding the true doctrines of the Federal Constitution. We are conservative. Our success is the triumph of all that has been considered established in the past. We can never become aggressive; we may

absorb, but we can never invade for conquest, any neighboring State. The peace of the world is secured if our arms prevail. We shall have a Government that acknowledges God, that reverences right, and that makes law supreme. We are, therefore, fighting not for ourselves alone, but, when the struggle is rightly understood, for the salvation of this whole continent. It is a noble cause in which we are engaged. There is everything in it to rouse the heart and to nerve the arm of the freeman and the patriot; and though it may now seem to be under a cloud, it is too big with the future of our race to be suffered to fail. It cannot fail; it must not fail. Our people must not brook the infamy of betraying their sublime trust. This beautiful land we must never suffer to pass into the hands of strangers. Our fields, our homes, our firesides and sepulchres, our cities and temples, our wives and daughters, we must protect at every hazard. The glorious inheritance which our fathers left us we must never betray. The hopes with which they died, and which buoyed their spirits in the last conflict, of making their country a blessing to the world, we must not permit to be unrealized. We must seize the torch from their hands, and transmit it with increasing brightness to distant generations. The word failure must not be pronounced among us. It is not a thing to be dreamed of. We must settle it that we *must* succeed. We must not sit down to count chances. There is too much at stake to think of discussing probabilities—we must make success a certainty, and that, by the blessing of God, we can do. If we are prepared to do our duty, and our whole duty, we have nothing to fear. But what is our duty? This is a question which we must gravely consider. We shall briefly attempt to answer it.

In the first place, we must shake off all apathy, and become fully alive to the magnitude of the crisis. We must look the danger in the face, and comprehend the real grandeur of the issue. We shall not exert ourselves until we are sensible of the need of effort. As long as we cherish a vague hope that help may come from abroad, or that there is something in our past history, or the genius of our institutions, to protect us from overthrow, we are hugging a fatal delusion to our bosoms. This apathy was the ruin of Greece at the time of the Macedonian invasion. This was the spell which Demosthenes labored so earnestly to break. The Athenian was as devoted as ever to his native city and the free institutions he inherited from his fathers; but somehow or other he could not believe that his country could be conquered. He read its safety in its ancient glory. He felt that it had a prescriptive right to live. The great orator saw and lamented the error; he poured forth his eloquence to dissolve the charm; but the fatal hour had come, and the spirit of Greece could not be roused. There was no more real patriotism at the time of the second Persian invasion than in the age of Philip; but then there was no apathy, every man appreciated the danger; he saw the crash that was coming, and prepared himself to resist the blow. He knew that there was no safety except in courage and in desperate effort. Every man, too, felt identified with the State; a part of its weight rested on his shoulders. It

was this sense of personal interest and personal responsibility—the profound conviction that every one had something to do, and that Greece expected him to do it—this was the public spirit which turned back the countless hordes of Xerxes, and saved Greece to liberty and man. This is the spirit which we must have, if we, too, would succeed. We must be brought to see that all, under God, depends on ourselves; and, looking away from all foreign alliances, we must make up our minds to fight desperately and fight long, if we would save the country from ruin, and ourselves from bondage. Every man should feel that he has an interest in the State, and that the State in a measure leans upon him; and he should rouse himself to efforts as bold and heroic as if all depended on his single right arm. Our courage should rise higher than the danger, and whatever may be the odds against us, we must solemnly resolve by God's blessing, that we will not be conquered. When, with a full knowledge of the danger, we are brought to this point, we are in the way of deliverance, but until this point is reached, it is idle to count on success.

It is implied in the spirit which the times demand, that all private interests are sacrificed to the public good. The State becomes everything, and the individual nothing. It is no time to be casting about for expedients to enrich ourselves. The man who is now intent upon money, who turns public necessity and danger into means of speculation, would, if very shame did not rebuke him, and he were allowed to follow the natural bent of his heart, go upon the field of battle after an engagement and strip the lifeless bodies of his brave countrymen of the few spoils they carried into the fight. Such men, unfit for anything generous or noble themselves, like the hyena, can only suck the blood of the lion. It ought to be a reproach to any man, that he is growing rich while his country is bleeding at every pore. If we had a Themistocles among us, he would not scruple to charge the miser and extortioner with stealing the Gorgon's head; he would search their stuff, and if he could not find that, he would find what would answer his country's needs much more effectually. This spirit must be rebuked; every man must forget himself, and think only of the public good.

The spirit of faction is even more to be dreaded than the spirit of avarice and plunder. It is equally selfish, and is, besides, distracting and divisive. The man who now labors to weaken the hands of the Government, that he may seize the reins of authority, or cavils at public measures and policy, that he may rise to distinction and office, has all the selfishness of a miser, and all the baseness of a traitor. Our rulers are not infallible: but their errors are to be reviewed with candor, and their authority sustained with unanimity. Whatever has a tendency to destroy public confidence in their prudence, their wisdom, their energy, and their patriotism, undermines the security of our cause. We must not be divided and distracted among ourselves. Our rulers have great responsibilities; they need the support of the whole country; and nothing short of a patriotism which buries all private

differences, which is ready for compromises and concessions, which can make charitable allowances for differences of opinion, and even for errors of judgment, can save us from the consequences of party and faction. We must be united. If our views are not carried out, let us sacrifice private opinion to public safety. In the great conflict with Persia, Athens yielded to Sparta, and acquiesced in plans she could not approve, for the sake of the public good. Nothing could be more dangerous now than scrambles for office and power, and collisions among the different departments of the Government. We must present a united front.

It is further important that every man should be ready to work. It is no time to play the gentleman; no time for dignified leisure. All cannot serve in the field; but all can do something to help forward the common cause. The young and the active, the stout and vigorous, should be prepared at a moment's warning for the ranks. The disposition should be one of eagerness to be employed; there should be no holding back, no counting the cost. The man who stands back from the ranks in these perilous times, because he is unwilling to serve his country as a private soldier, who loves his ease more than liberty, his luxuries more than his honor, that man is a dead fly in our precious ointment. In seasons of great calamity the ancient pagans were accustomed to appease the anger of their gods by human sacrifices; and if they had gone upon the principle of selecting those whose moral insignificance rendered them alike offensive to heaven and useless to earth, they would always have selected these drones, and loafers, and exquisites. A Christian nation cannot offer them in sacrifice, but public contempt should whip them from their lurking holes, and compel them to share the common danger. The community that will cherish such men without rebuke, brings down wrath upon it. They must be forced to be useful, to avert the judgments of God from the patrons of cowardice and meanness.

Public spirit will not have reached the height which the exigency demands, until we shall have relinquished all fastidious notions of military etiquette, and have come to the point of expelling the enemy by any and every means that God has put in our power. We are not fighting for military glory; we are fighting for a home, and for a national existence. We are not aiming to display our skill in tactics and generalship; we are aiming to show ourselves a free people, worthy to possess and able to defend the institutions of our fathers. What signifies it to us how the foe is vanquished, provided it is done? Because we have not weapons of the most approved workmanship, are we to sit still and see our soil overrun, and our wives and children driven from their homes, while we have in our hands other weapons that can equally do the work of death? Are we to perish if we cannot conquer by the technical rules of scientific warfare? Are we to sacrifice our country to military punctilio? The thought is monstrous. We must be prepared to extemporize expedients. We must cease to be chary, either about our weapons or the means of using them. The end is to

drive back our foes. If we cannot procure the best rifles, let us put up with the common guns of the country; if they cannot be had, with pikes, and axes, and tomahawks; anything that will do the work of death is an effective instrument in a brave man's hand. We should be ready for the regular battle of the partisan skirmish. If we are too weak to stand an engagement in the open field, we can waylay the foe, and harass and annoy him. We must prepare ourselves for a guerilla war. The enemy must be conquered; and any method by which we can honorably do it must be resorted to. This is the kind of spirit which we want to see aroused among our people. With this spirit, they will never be subdued. If driven from the plains, they will retreat to the mountains; if beaten in the field, they will hide in swamps and marshes, and when their enemies are least expecting it, they will pounce down upon them in the dashing exploits of a Sumter, a Marion, and a Davie. It is only when we have reached this point that public spirit is commensurate with the danger.

In the second place, we must guard sacredly against cherishing a temper of presumptuous confidence. The cause is not ours but God's; and if we measure its importance only by its accidental relation to ourselves, we may be suffered to perish for our pride. No nation ever yet achieved anything great that it did not regard itself as the instrument of Providence. The only lasting inspiration of lofty patriotism and exalted courage is the inspiration of religion. The Greeks and Romans never ventured upon any important enterprise without consulting their gods. They felt that they were safe only as they were persuaded that they were in alliance with heaven. Man, though limited in space, limited in time, and limited in knowledge, is truly great, when he is linked to the Infinite, as the means of accomplishing lasting ends. To be God's servant, that is his highest destiny, his sublimest calling. Nations are under the pupilage of Providence; they are in training themselves, that they may be the instruments of furthering the progress of the human race.

Polybius, the historian, traces the secret of Roman greatness to the profound sense of religion which constituted a striking feature of the national character. He calls it, expressly, the firmest pillar of the Roman State; and he does not hesitate to denounce, as enemies to public order and prosperity, those of his own contemporaries who sought to undermine the sacredness of these convictions. Even Napoleon sustained his vaulting ambition by a mysterious connection with the invisible world. He was a man of destiny. It is the relation to God, and His providential training of the race, that imparts true dignity to our struggle; and we must recognize ourselves as God's servants, working out His glorious ends, or we shall infallibly be left to stumble upon the dark mountains of error. Our trust in Him must be the real spring of our heroic resolution to conquer or to die. A sentiment of honor, a momentary enthusiasm, may prompt and sustain spasmodic exertions of an extraordinary character; but a steady valor, self-denying patriotism, protracted patience, a readiness to do, and dare, and suffer, through

a generation or an age, this comes only from a sublime faith in God. The worst symptom that any people can manifest, is that of pride. With nations, as with individuals, it goes before a fall. Let us guard against it. Let us rise to the true grandeur of our calling, and go forth as servants of the Most High, to execute His purposes. In this spirit we are safe. By this spirit our principles are ennobled, and our cause translated from earth to heaven. An overweening confidence in the righteousness of our cause, as if that alone were sufficient to insure our success, betrays gross inattention to the Divine dealings with communities and States. In the issue betwixt ourselves and our enemies, we may be free from blame; but there may be other respects in which we have provoked the judgments of Heaven, and there may be other grounds on which God has a controversy with us, and the swords of our enemies may be His chosen instruments to execute His wrath. He may first use them as a rod, and then punish them in other forms for their own iniquities. Hence, it behooves us not only to have a righteous cause, but to be a righteous people. We must abandon all our sins, and put ourselves heartily and in earnest on the side of Providence.

Hence, this dependence upon Providence carries with it the necessity of removing from the midst of us whatever is offensive to a holy God. If the Government is His ordinance, and the people His instruments, they must see to it that they serve Him with no unwashed or defiled hands. We must cultivate a high standard of public virtue. We must renounce all personal and selfish aims, and we must rebuke every custom or institution that tends to deprave the public morals. Virtue is power, and vice is weakness. The same Polybius, to whom we have already referred, traces the influence of the religious sentiment at Rome in producing faithful and incorruptible magistrates, who were strangers alike to bribery and favor in executing the laws and dispensing the trusts of the State, and that high tone of public faith which made an oath an absolute security for faithfulness. This stern simplicity of manners we must cherish, if we hope to succeed. Bribery, corruption, favoritism, electioneering, flattery, and every species of double-dealing; drunkenness, profaneness, debauchery, selfishness, avarice, and extortion; all base material ends must be banished by a stern integrity, if we would become the fit instruments of a holy Providence in a holy cause. Sin is a reproach to any people. It is weakness; it is sure, though it may be slow, decay. Faith in God—that is the watchword of martyrs, whether in the cause of truth or of liberty. That alone ennobles and sanctifies.

"All other nations," except the French, as Burke has significantly remarked, in relation to the memorable revolution which was doomed to failure in consequence of this capital omission, "have begun the fabric of a new Government, or the reformation of an old, by establishing originally, or by enforcing with greater exactness, some rites or other of religion. All other people have laid the foundations of civil freedom in severer manners, and a system of a more austere and masculine morality." To absolve the State, which is the society of rights, from a strict

responsibility to the Author and Source of justice and of law, is to destroy the firmest security of public order, to convert liberty into license, and to impregnate the very being of the commwealth with the seeds of dissolution and decay. France failed, because France forgot God; and if we tread in the footsteps of that infatuated people, and treat with equal contempt the holiest instincts of our nature, we too may be abandoned to our folly, and become the hissing and the scorn of all the nations of the earth. "Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings! be instructed, ye Judges of the earth. Kiss the Son, lest He be angry, and ye perish from the way, when His wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him."

In the third place, let us endeavor rightly to interpret the reverses which have recently attended our arms. It is idle to make light of them. They are serious—they are disastrous. The whole end of Providence in any dispensation it were presumptuous for any one, independently of a special revelation, to venture to decipher. But there are tendencies which lie upon the surface, and these obvious tendencies are designed for our guidance and instruction. In the present case, we may humbly believe that one purpose aimed at has been to rebuke our confidence and our pride. We had begun to despise our enemy, and to prophesy safety without much hazard. We had laughed at his cowardice, and boasted of our superior prowess and skill. Is it strange that, while indulging such a temper, we ourselves should be made to turn our backs, and to become a jest to those whom we had jeered? We had grown licentious, intemperate and profane; is it strange that, in the midst of our security, God should teach us that sin is a reproach to any people? Is it strange that He should remind us of the moral conditions upon which alone we are authorized to hope for success? The first lesson, therefore, is one of rebuke and repentance. It is a call to break off our sins by righteousness, and to turn our eyes to the real secret of national security and strength.

The second end may be one of trial. God has placed us in circumstances in which, if we show that we are equal to the emergency, all will acknowledge our right to the freedom which we have so signally vindicated. We have now the opportunity for great exploits. We can now demonstrate to the world what manner of spirit we are of. If our courage and faith rise superior to the danger, we shall not only succeed, but we shall succeed with a moral influence and character that shall render our success doubly valuable. Providence seems to be against us—disaster upon disaster has attended our arms—the enemy is in possession of three States, and beleaguers us in all our coasts. His resources and armaments are immense, and his energy and resolution desperate. His numbers are so much superior, that we are like a flock of kids before him. We have nothing to stand on but the eternal principles of truth and right, and the protection and alliance of a just God. Can we look the danger unflinchingly in the face, and calmly resolve to meet it and subdue it? Can we say, in reliance upon Providence, that, were his numbers and resources a thousand fold greater, the inter-

ests at stake are so momentous, that we will not be conquered? Do we feel the moral power of courage, of resolution, of heroic will, rising and swelling within us, until it towers above all the smoke and dust of the invasion? Then we are in a condition to do great deeds. We are in the condition of Greece when Xerxes hung upon the borders of Attica with an army of five millions that had never been conquered, and to which State after State of Northern Greece had yielded in its progress. Little Athens was the object of his vengeance. Leonidas had fallen—four days more would bring the destroyer to the walls of the devoted city. There the people were, a mere handful. Their first step had been to consult the gods, and the astounding reply which they received from Delphi would have driven any other people to despair. "Wretched men!" said the oracle, which they believed to be infallible, "why sit ye there! Quit your land and city, and flee afar! Head, body, feet, and hands are alike rotten; fire and sword, in the train of the Syrian chariot shall overwhelm you; nor only *your* city, but other cities also, as well as many even of the temples of the gods, which are now sweating and trembling with fear, and foreshadow, by drops of blood on their roofs, the hard calamities impending. Get ye away from the sanctuary, with your souls steeped in sorrow." We have had reverses, but no such oracle as this. It was afterwards modified so as to give a ray of hope, in an ambiguous allusion to wooden walls. But the soul of the Greek rose with the danger, and we have a succession of events, from the desertion of Athens to the final expulsion of the invader, which make that little spot of earth immortal. Let us imitate, in Christian faith, this sublime example. Let our spirit be loftier than that of the pagan Greek, and we can succeed in making every pass a Thermopylae, every strait a Salamis, and every plain a Marathon. We can conquer and we *must*. We must not suffer any other thought to enter our minds. If we are overrun, we can at least die; and if our enemies get possession of our land, we can leave it a howling desert. But, under God, we shall not fail. If we are true to Him, and true to ourselves, a glorious future is before us. We occupy a sublime position. The eyes of the world are upon us; we are a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men. Can our hearts grow faint, or our hands feeble, in a cause like this? The spirits of our fathers call to us from their graves. The heroes of other ages and other countries are beckoning us on to glory. Let us seize the opportunity, and make to ourselves an immortal name, while we redeem a land from bondage, and a continent from ruin.

ART. V.—TRUE POLICY OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES

(Without expressing an opinion adverse or favorable to the views embraced in the article which follows, we submit it to our readers. Occupied as we are with the war policy of the Government, there is little time to speculate upon what is to come after. For the present at least give us entire free trade with all the world.

This is sound policy. Should the safety of the cause require the continuance of this policy for a certain number of years as a basis of treaty stipulations, let us be prepared even for that, or for anything and all things, rather than a return to the Yankee dynasty. This is the only sentiment we care to inculcate at present.—Editor.)

War, even if its severity is mitigated by the humane influences of modern civilization, is a great social evil; but it is one of those necessary evils which constantly present themselves as disturbing causes in the economy of nature, to prevent, by the energy of their action, the utter ruin and disintegration of the complicated mechanism of the universe. The moral no less than the physical world has its destructive agencies, which, by their renovating and transforming influences, preserve the harmonious adaptation of the various elements of the existing social order.

The war now waged between the North and the South, with unexampled rancor and malignity on the one side, and the most heroic self abnegation on the other, is but the necessary and inevitable result of pre-existing causes, and is designed by Providence to be productive of consequences, foreshadowing a new era of national and social developments, which will only be fully appreciated by succeeding generations.

Our independence must and will be achieved. Our cause is just, and must eventually triumph. Cities may be sacked and burnt, States may be invaded and overrun, property may be destroyed, fields may be desolated, the sacred rights of freemen may be trampled under foot, the laws of humanity and civilization may be ignored, our wives may be made widows, and our children orphans, fanaticism may rule for a brief hour, and may attempt, in its drunken revels, to overthrow the very altars of our household gods. But ruthless vandalism is neither subjugation nor conquest, and if we collect all our energies to strike the decisive blow, if we bear our disasters that may befall us with unfaltering courage and patient endurance, if we present a bold and united front to the enemy, we cannot fail to be successful in the end, and to become a nation great in moral power and rich in resources; a nation whose patriotism "was refined in the crucible of adversity," and which sprang, Minerva-like, all panoplied and armed from the very brain of revolution. The North has sown dragon's teeth, and warriors have risen up from our soil, thus made fertile with great deeds, by the very enormities of our enemies.

But if our independence were recognized, and peace were established, the question would still obtrude itself upon the inquiring mind, how can our future greatness and national prosperity be secured?

To accomplish this object with any degree of probable success, it is indispensably necessary to inaugurate a new commercial policy for the South; a policy entirely our own, not copied from English precedents, nor transcribed from Yankee statutes. It should be a policy peculiarly Southern, adapted to the circumstances by which we are surrounded, neither drifting into the dangerous shoals of free trade, nor seeking shelter under the overhanging rocks of protective tariffs. Old issues should never be permitted to be revived, no matter what new form

they might be made to assume. Let the dead bury their dead, and those who are inspired by the living evangel of the new revelation, will never copy the legislative follies and iniquities of those corrupt and infamous Sodomites of the North, who have sold justice in the market place, and have squandered in an hour of insane frenzy, all that was once dear to a great and magnanimous people.

The enactment of commercial laws derogatory to the interests of the North, by discriminating against the universal Yankee nation, even if practicable, would not of itself be sufficient to establish our commercial independence. Such a policy would be nothing more than a plausible deception, for while it would steer the ship of State clear of the hidden breakers of Scylla, it would dash her with greater force on the exposed rocks of Charybdis. It would only transfer the monopoly of our valuable commerce from the North to France and England. The English and the French are, in a social point of view, as much opposed to us as our late associates of the North. Although their political and commercial interests would be materially advanced by the acknowledgment of our independence, yet they are looking on as indifferent spectators, because it has not yet been made clear to them that the Northern States, with their immense preparations and resources, may not force us back into the Union. Our independence will only be recognized by these nations, when impelled to action by the force of circumstances. They may perhaps be induced to receive our advances with favor, when the necessities of a ruined commerce, and the distress of the laboring classes, shall compel them to yield to the popular clamor. Or they may step gracefully forward and reach out the hand of friendly greeting, when our independence is once an accomplished fact, and we would derive no additional benefit from the mere formal recognition of foreign powers.

Nor would it be good policy on the part of the Confederate States Government to enact tariff laws discriminating in favor of France and England, and prejudicial to the interests of the Northern Union. It would entail upon us a heritage of perpetual hostilities with our nearest neighbor, who, while it will be impossible for him to subjugate or conquer us, can inflict upon us incalculable injury, for having at his command immense resources and overwhelming numbers, he can harass us by piratical excursions on the common rivers, and by predatory warfare on the border. That the Northern Union constitutes already a powerful military nation, no one whose mind is not contracted by the narrow views of inflated egotism, will hardly attempt to deny. No treaty of peace having for its object the recognition of our independence, could ever be negotiated with the Northern States, unless it were conceded in advance, as a preliminary condition, that they shall be placed on a footing of perfect equality with the most favored nations.

A few unthinking but well meaning enthusiasts deem it desirable that a perpetual conflict between the Northern Union and the Southern Confederacy should be continued for an indefinite series of years, to become as famous in history as that waged between the Red and White

Roses, or that which divided the Ghibelines and the Guelphs. But the true statesman cannot endorse such barbarous principles. War necessarily checks the gradual advancement of civilization, and, if long continued, it demoralizes a people. War, if carried on under the most favorable auspices, is but a game of hazard. Battles are won and lost by the most trivial occurrences, and slight incidents that are least expected. Skill may direct, and chivalrous daring may lead to victory in many a contested field, but when the decisive battle is to be fought, on the issue of which the destiny of a nation depends, the most insignificant and unforeseen casualty may bring defeat at the most critical moment, and trail in the dust the banner that had never been lowered to an enemy.

Waterloo was lost on account of a slight miscalculation on the part of one of the generals commanding the reserve. It ended the reign of Napoleon, and made France, for a time, the dependent tributary of the allied powers.

But the question may still be asked, what policy should be adopted to secure our commercial independence. In the first place the doctrine of free trade must be entirely discarded for the present. What the country needs is a moderate revenue tariff, low enough to admit English and French articles of manufacture, and high enough to exclude Northern importations altogether. Under the old Union the free trade principle was emphatically Southern, for its adoption would have ruined the Northern monopolists, and would have advanced the commercial interests of the South, but "*nous avons change tout cela.*"

The people of the Southern Confederacy must learn to forget all the trammels of party shibboleth, which kept the old government swinging, as it were, in a balance; for those party catchwords which were in the mouth of every voter, but to which the professional politician even could attach no precise meaning, are mere cabalistic names invented by party leaders to deceive the multitude. It is even now impossible to decide whether the tariff of 1828 was not strictly a revenue tariff, and the tariff of 1847 protective. The truth is, that all tariffs are both protective and revenue tariffs, and the only question is, what rate of duties shall be adopted, by means of which the object of good government can be best secured, and the resources of the country most speedily developed.

The free trade policy would render the Southern Confederacy dependent upon the Northern States for the coarse manufactures, which are too bulky and heavy to bear transportation from France and England. Mechanical labor being far cheaper in the North than in the South, all the coarse woolen and cotton cloth, and other articles in daily use, would be imported from the Northern States, and we would still be the vassals of Yankeedom for the very materials of first necessity.

As between the North and the South the practical result of the free trade principal has been fully tested. It is this free trade principle which cradled us into unconscious security, and when the war cry was heard that the Philistines are upon us, it would have found us unpre-

pared for resistance, had not the sagacity of one great man who foresaw the danger, provided against its disastrous consequences. It is this free trade principle carried into practical operation in the commercial intercourse between the North and the South which made the people of the poorest regions of this continent, rich in actual capital, rich in productive wealth, rich in manufacturing establishments, rich in the development of material resources. It was this free trade principle which built up for them their magnificent cities, provided for them an immense commercial marine, and planted colossal steamships in their harbors. It made them merchant princes, and secured for them their metropolitan centres with their vast accumulation of money interests.

On the other hand this free trade experiment has nearly ruined the South. We have no commercial metropolis, no concentration of capital, no commercial marine. It has made us poor penniless outcasts.—Having fallen, like the Samaritan, among thieves, we were beaten, wounded, despoiled of our substances, and left a bleeding victim, lying helpless by the roadside, scorned and derided by those who robbed us of our possessions.

Nothing could be more acceptable to the North than the adoption of the policy of free trade by the government of the Confederate States. The South would be instantly flooded with Yankee wares, and cheap articles of inferior quality would drive from the market similar articles of manufacture imported from England and France, made of better materials and consequently of much higher value. It is true that free trade would furnish us cheap goods, and would open our harbors to the commerce of the world, but it would not give us that much desired commercial independence for which we are contending; it would only divide our patronage, and render us tributary to the English, the French and the Yankees. They are already provided with a vast commercial marine, which they are able to protect, in the event of war, by means of a well appointed navy; and it will be impossible for us to compete with them as the commercial factors and carriers of the world.

This great political hobby of free trade has accomplished nothing for the South. It developed no resources of commerce, it left us without means of defence, without improvement of harbors, without foreign trade, without ships, and we might add, with much propriety, it left us without available capital, and without foreign credit. Lands and negroes, and an abundance of undeveloped resources, cannot make a nation prosperous and happy. It is the first duty of every people to labor for its self-perfection as a member of the family of nations. A nation cannot be considered as having reached a high degree of self-perfection that does not foster a national literature, that does not encourage the cultivation of science, that does not aid in the development of the manufacturing industry of the people, that has no centres of refinement and cultivated society, that has no commercial marine, no war-ships, nor any other appliances necessary for defensive purposes.

We have already entered the lists with other nations to open for ourselves a glorious career of national greatness, but it will require the

helping hand and the wise counsel of the government to crown our incipient efforts with success, whenever peace shall be proclaimed within our borders.

England is perhaps the only country in the world that would largely profit by the adoption of the policy of absolute free trade. Her manufacturing interests are immense; she exports manufactured articles of every variety to every habitable part of the globe, while the largest aggregate of her imports is composed of raw materials and staple productions, not grown on her soil, and not found within her territories. She need fear no competition at home, for being the factor of half the world, the products of her furnaces, her anvils, her looms, and the thousand other appliances of art, are exported to foreign markets and sold at a reasonable profit for the use of the consumer. She is, so to say, the great workshop of the nations, and with her cheap and well organized labor system, no other people could undersell her at home. But in England, where the doctrine of absolute free trade has been elaborately and ably discussed, and where alone it could produce the beneficial results so hopefully anticipated from its practical operation, it has never received the support of the ruling classes, and is only used as a party catchword, invented by those out of power to displace the more fortunate incumbents who control the affairs of the government. The moderate tariffs and navigation laws of England, instead of reducing her to poverty, made her the richest and the first commercial and manufacturing nation of the earth.

But free trade is not only an inexpedient, but it is also an impracticable measure. It would prove the most ruinous experiment ever tried by a young nation just starting into existence. A superficial view of our probable position after the cessation of hostilities, must convince the least reflecting mind that the adoption of the free trade principle, with the object of controlling the commercial policy of the government, would endanger our national independence, and prostrate all our resources of commerce and wealth. Governments, however economical they may be in their expenditures, are costly and expensive establishments. Officials are greedy, their services are not gratuitous, they must be paid. Armies cannot maintain themselves by marauding expeditions—they must be supported from the public treasury. Fortifications and other defensive works are not constructed in a day, like Aladdin's palace; it requires money and labor to give them strength and efficiency. A navy cannot be called into existence by the mere word of power; a vast expenditure of means is necessary to place this *right arm* of our national defence upon a respectable footing. But what is more than all this, a war debt of no less than six hundred millions of dollars will probably have accumulated, not including even the indemnity which will be due to our people, who may have suffered from the ravages of the enemy. Annual appropriations must necessarily be made by the Government to discharge the public debt within a definite period of time, and pay the accruing interest, every year, as it becomes due. The average amount of interest, at eight per cent., on six hundred millions of dollars, to be

discharged in twenty years, would be no less than twenty-four millions of dollars; provided, the principal be reduced by the annual payment of thirty millions more, to meet the original condition of the loan. Adding to this aggregate sum of fifty-four millions, forty millions for ordinary Government expenditures, including the idemnity due to the citizens, and it will at once appear that, even upon the basis of this moderate calculation, the Confederate States Government will have to provide for a revenue of ninety-four millions during the first twenty years of its administration, to support its machinery and sustain its credit.*

By what alchemistic charlatanism is this revenue to be raised? Some are so deaf to all reason, and so blinded by prejudices, that a common sense argument has no charms for them. It brings home no conviction to their exhilarated fancy. They have taken it for granted upon the assurance of some astute political arithmetician, that free trade is the panacea for all political evils, and that two hundred millions being the annual value of the cotton and tobacco crop, the problem how to raise ninety-four millions of annual revenue for the government is of easy solution. But while the cotton crop may increase the wealth and sustain the credit of individuals, it will never furnish the revenue nor pay the debts of the government. As soon as the war is over, and the danger shall have passed away, every cotton planter will endeavor to make up for lost time. He has shown his lofty purposes and his undaunted patriotism while the enemy was at our doors; he has sacrificed his property and staked his life and honor upon the success of the cause; and having thus contributed his share for the defence of the country, and the promotion of the common good, as soon as peace is established he will strive to be among the first of his compeers in the accumulation of wealth, and to gain consideration among his friends and neighbors. In other words, the planter will cease to be a lender of money and a usurer, and will become what he always has been, an everlasting borrower. Neither cotton nor tobacco can be made instrumental for the payment of the government debts.

But if the magic of free trade and cotton cannot supply the necessary food by means of which the morbid cravings of hungry public creditors may be satisfied, is it possible that free trade and direct taxation will be more yielding in their disposition, and shower a mass of

* We take issue with this statement.

First. It is not probable that the debt will reach \$600,000,000.

Second. Whatever the debt, the interest being provided, it can be carried over to 30, 40 or even 50 years, and by the method which the government has adopted it will be practicable to substitute 6 per cent. in lieu of 8 per cent. Bonds hereafter.

Third. The ordinary expenditures could not reach \$40,000,000 upon any reasonable estimate. The old Federal Government did not exceed half that sum during the first thirty years of its existence.

Assuming the War Debt at \$500,000,000, the time of payment to be 50 years, the interest to be half six and half eight per cent., and the ordinary expenditures to be \$25,000,000, we shall have at the highest for the first ten years of peace to provide a revenue ranging from sixty-five to fifty million of dollars. After that period \$50,000,000 may be regarded ample for all purposes. Under the old union the South paid indirectly double or triple that sum.—Editor.

untold treasure into the strong-box of the Government exchequer? The idea is too preposterous to be entertained for one moment, that after the country has been exhausted by a savage war, direct taxation can be brought to the relief of the Government, for the purpose of supplying its revenue, and providing for the payment of the public debt. After the termination of this struggle for life and existence, every State will have incurred a vast amount of indebtedness, which must be provided for by direct taxation. Not a single State of this Confederacy could command sufficient resources to be able, by taxing the property and income of its citizens, to contribute its proportionate share of the ninety-four millions, annually required by the Confederate Government for at least twenty consecutive years.

The absurdity of direct taxation for the object proposed, will become apparent at a glance from the subjoined tabular statement, in which the ninety-four millions of Government expenditures are apportioned among the thirteen States composing the Confederacy, according to their respective representation. Maryland is not included in this apportionment, as no step has yet been taken, either by the State or the Confederate States, to make her a party to this Government:

State.	Number of Representatives.	Amount in dollars.
South Carolina	6	5,274,000
Georgia	10	8,790,000
Alabama	9	7,911,000
Florida	2	1,758,000
Mississippi	7	6,153,000
Louisiana	6	5,274,000
Texas	6	5,274,000
Virginia	13	11,427,000
North Carolina	10	8,790,000
Tennessee	11	9,669,000
Arkansas	4	3,516,000
Kentucky	11	9,669,000
Missouri	12	10,548,000

It is by no means contended that the people would refuse to contribute, by direct taxation, to the support of the general Government, for as Mr. Hallam observes, "the sting of taxation is wastefulness, but it is difficult to name a limit beyond which taxes will not be borne with patience when *faithfully applied*." Nor would direct taxation loosen the bonds of union, or alienate the affections of the people from the Government. Fear is the strongest motive power which prompts the citizen to yield obedience to the law. If the power of the Confederate Government is brought home to every man's pocket by frequent visits of Confederate officers acting in the capacity of tax gatherers, it would strengthen the authority of the general Government, by appealing to the most powerful sense of duty, and demanding the sacrifice of money interest, that public order may be maintained, and the citizen may be protected. If the Government of the old Union would have resorted

to direct taxation, by creating a tax collecting agency with its local officers in every county, secession would have been defeated at the ballot-box. The local influence of the Federal Government would have been predominant everywhere, and the Yankees might now rule supremely over a deluded and demoralized people. The most ignorant countryman, who is incapable of comprehending abstract reasoning or logical argument, understands the more tangible principle that the Government which has the absolute command of his purse, being empowered to sell his most valuable property in case of refusal, is a power that must be obeyed, and which it would be folly to resist.

The old Federal Government was loved by the people, because the burden of taxation was artfully concealed beneath the flimsy veil of deception. It afforded excitement to the masses during election time, and held out fat offices to politicians. But the power of the Government was neither felt nor feared within the limits of the States; and had it not been for the periodical elections, and the buncombe speeches of Congressmen, the existence of a central authority could have hardly been suspected even by a stranger ignorant of our institutions. Direct taxation and a Confederation of Republics are incompatible in the nature of things; they cannot exist together. The central government must and will gradually and imperceptibly undermine all State authority and render it contemptible, if it is permitted to set up its most striking insignia of sovereign power in every household, and become the familiar acquaintance of every fireside.

A moderate tariff, sufficient for revenue purposes, is the most equitable and least burdensome mode of taxation. It taxes the poor and the rich in equal proportion, and exacts a money contribution from thousands who could not otherwise be reached, and who would thus defraud the government of its just dues.

It is a great fallacy in political economy, and ignorant charlatans only could have originated the idea, that a purely agricultural country which is enabled to export staple productions of the annual value of two hundred millions, must necessarily be the richest country in the world. This proposition would be correct if these staple productions were not exchanged, each year, for articles of manufacture, necessary for food and clothing, and for luxuries imported from foreign nations, which are annually consumed in the country where the staples are produced. Even the profits arising from the exchange of commodities, and the heavy percentage realized from transportation, is exclusively appropriated by the foreign merchant, and leaves the agriculturist, who fosters and sustains this immense commerce, hardly any surplus in excess of the moderate wages earned by his laborers. The Southern Confederacy could be made the richest country in the world, by giving proper encouragement to her external commerce, and by fostering her home manufactures for articles in daily use.

The creation of a commercial marine, protected by an efficient government navy, should be the first object of legislation after the establishment of peace. The South must make an effort to secure for

herself her legitimate share of the carrying trade and the commerce of the world. Otherwise, while our citizens may be comparatively rich as individuals, we will be "poor, very poor indeed" as a nation.

History and experience establish the fact that those agricultural countries which have no external commerce, are the poorest countries in the world. Poland, Hungary, Spain and Italy contain the most fertile regions of Europe, and their people have carried agriculture to a high degree of perfection. But notwithstanding the advantages of climate and soil, they are comparatively poor, when placed side by side with England and Scotland, whose sterile lands hardly supply the necessaries of life, but whose people, by means of their extensive commerce and manufactures, occupy the first rank in point of wealth and refinement, among the civilized nations of the earth. When France was without a navy and without foreign commerce, she was poor indeed, but since she has developed her external commerce and stimulated her manufacturing industry, she has risen to the foremost position in power and influence in Europe. The United Provinces of the Netherlands, with a territory not exceeding in extent that of South Carolina, were once the first commercial people of the world, and were enabled to overawe with their war-ships, which whitened every sea, all the rival powers, with whom they formed alliances and to whom they dictated terms of peace.

It would be a suicidal policy on the part of the government to barter away the birth-right of our commercial independence to France and England for a mess of pottage. Our political independence can and must be secured by ourselves, without the aid of foreign intervention. The blockade will be raised whenever it becomes an imperative necessity, and unless impelled by circumstances, no inducement can stimulate foreign powers to action, if such action, involving them in a gigantic war, would be so destructive to their interests that the losses to be incurred would not be compensated by the advantages held out to them. As soon as they become convinced that we can maintain our independence, recognition will follow without much effort on our part, and while they are halting between two opinions, they would not listen to any proposition of treaty negotiation, for this would itself imply their acknowledgment of our independence, as a member of the family of nations.

RICHMOND, VA., March 10, 1862.

ART. VI.—OUR CAUSE.

"God give the battle to the right;
We will be free or die."

"He who walketh upon the wings of the wind hath said to the waters, so far shalt thou go and no farther." Most comforting to the believer are these words from the inspired writings. Our destinies are in the hands of this Great being, and He will stay those Northern crusaders on their fratricidal way.

When the soul finds itself overwhelmed in gloom, when the tear of agony forsakes its secret cell, and not a ray of sunshine illumines our path, when our own dear country is beset on every side by ruthless foes, and the blood of our gallant dead cries from the earth for vengeance, then it is that men, from the instincts of nature, are impulsed on to deeds of daring and of retaliation. But feeble woman, in her solitude, must watch and pray, and seek that last, best gift, hope, by casting her eye on the Rock of Ages, asking for more faith in that great God who hath said "vengeance is mine." Thoughts of this character are induced at this moment by hearing of the desperate battle in the West, and by the echo of war's fierce alarms all around us. Our brave soldiers are performing prodigies of valor, contending with an enemy numbering thousands to their hundreds; but the "race is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong;" we will be free!

In the spring time of the year, this favored region, watered by the graceful and winding Bayou La Fourche, presents a most striking and captivating landscape to the observant eye. Extensive lawns, carpeted with the deepest green, lofty trees, natives of the circumjacent forest, with outspread branches, invite the young children, the skipping lambs and the feathered choristers to retreat to their emerald shades and be refreshed. The fertile sugar cane, springing from the bosom of mother earth, and waved by gentle breezes, diversifies the picture most agreeably. Can we for a moment indulge the belief, that *devastation*, with giant strides, approaches our doors, and that we never more shall pass a merry Christmas with our people, dancing upon the green before our portals, with their happy black faces smiling upon their masters, who are regarded as the father, who provides for their comfort in sickness and health, in infancy and old age, and who watches their sick and dying couches, as tenderly as the shepherds of old tended their flocks?

A touching twilight scene, witnessed by us a few evenings since, would have melted the heart even of Mad. B. Stowe. A little fair-haired cherub, numbering scarcely three summers, was parting for the night from a small servant, his playmate; first was heard the lisping "good-night, Manuel," then the little ivory arm encircled the ebony neck, soon their lips touched, and then they parted. Could such a scene as this have been enacted in New York, in a family of the first position? Who will answer this interrogatory? Echo answers, who?

This day, the 22d of February, 1862, is the anniversary of the birth of the "first rebel," and the day that has for so many happy years been celebrated by the North American nation. Probably at this hour (M.) our first Confederate President is being inaugurated at Richmond. We, the denizens of the South, should devotedly pray that the mantle of our beloved and honored Washington may descend upon President Davis, and that our country may long be blessed by his wise counsel—his devotion to the cause of freedom.

OAKWOOD, LA.

M. M. C.

ART. VII.—DR. CARTWRIGHT ON THE NEGRO—REVIEWED.

(We resume and conclude the discussion of the subject from page 250 of April number.—Editor.)

In the second century there was a set of Gnostic Christians called Ophites or Serpentinians, of whom it is said that they were so called for the veneration they had for the serpent that tempted Eve, and the worship paid to a real serpent. They pretended that the serpent was Jesus Christ, and that he taught men the knowledge of good and evil.—*Buck's Theol. Dict.*

Not to multiply quotations, it may be concluded that the white race may well contest the negro's title to the name of *Nachash*, so far as his claim depends on the fact of serpent-worship. To the many facts adduced by Mr. Waples,* to rebut the evidence of a peculiar influence of the serpent over negroes, Dr. Cartwright replies:

The only objection to Mr. Waples' publication is that he did not tell the whole truth in regard to the ancient serpent-worshippers. The whole truth makes them black men, with not greater exceptions of white serpent-worshippers than among the moderns. The serpent-worshippers among the moderns are black men, intermixed with a few whites as of old.—*Sunday Delta*, March 17, 1861.

If so, the writers above quoted indicate the astonishing fact that the inhabitants of the earth "almost everywhere," have been black men intermixed with a few whites. Surely the Greeks and Romans, the Germans and Britons, given to Druidical worship, were not black men. The supposition that the Anglo-Saxons descended from negro ancestors would be quite as open to objection, on ethnological principles, as the theory that the negroes descended from Adam.

Dr. Cartwright has since receded from his original position so far as to recognize other objects of nigritian worship besides the serpent, insisting, however, that "the principal fetich among the negroes is the serpent," and that "the other fetiches are all inferior to the serpent," which is "worshipped as the very God in bodily presence."† It has already been shown, by the testimony of Mr. Bowen, that the serpent, far from being esteemed "the very God in bodily presence," is removed two degrees below that dignity. It is not even an *orisha*, or idol, but only a symbol. But admitting that it is otherwise, Dr. Cartwright's theory demands the belief that Adam called the negro *nachash*, "serpent," because the serpent would be the principal fetich of the negro, which seems a very inadequate reason for impoverishing the Adamic nomenclature so much as to give the same name to a human being and a snake. But, relaxing still farther his grasp on this reason for the name *nachash*, and shifting to the proposition that "the negro is the slave of the white man by virtue of a physical law," Dr. Cartwright adds:

The same physical law (when released from his natural subjectivity to the white man) causes him to fall under the influence of the serpent, or some other object of fetichism, as that of the whiskey bottle, thus making him a slave of either the white man or Satan, or some evil influence represented under that name.—*Sunday Delta*, March 17, 1861.

**Sunday Delta*, Feb. 17, 1861.

† *Sunday Delta*, March 17, 1861.

It is difficult to supply the connection between devotion to the serpent and to the whiskey bottle, except by reference to the worm still, or serpentine, through which the whiskey is distilled, but the fact is too notorious for contradiction that the white race offer a formidable rivalry to the black in the fetichism of the whiskey bottle. If Dr. Cartwright intends only to show that servitude has converted the nigritian race from the darkest form of paganism, and greatly elevated them, intellectually and morally, and that their continued servitude tends to a still greater improvement, his facts cannot be truthfully denied. If from these facts he deduces an extra-scriptural argument in favor of slavery, the deduction is legitimate and of vast importance. If he would go farther, and show that the Creator has given the negro a nature suiting him to the servitude to which it is revealed that he should be subjected; this, also, is proper as a corroboration of Bible truth. If he would go still farther, and show that the negro is, by nature, "the slave of some Satanic influence," "a slave of Satan, or some evil influence represented under that name," he may find abundant proof of it in the word of God. The Greek word *doulos*, rendered "servant" in the received translation, means properly "slave." Then, on the authority of Jesus and his Apostles, it may be asserted that the negro, by nature, "is the slave of sin," and under the power, dominion, authority, of Satan.† But their statements are not admissible in proof of the subjectivity of the negro to Satanic influence, except in corroborative connection with the doctrine enunciated by Paul to the Athenians, that God "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."‡ If the word "men" is here used "in its original Hebrew sense," as explained by Dr. Cartwright; in other words, if negroes are not, equally with whites, descendants of Adam, the Holy Scriptures furnish no evidence that negroes are under Satanic influence, for all that is said of man's slavery to sin, and subjection to the power of Satan, is predicated of the descendants of Adam. If, however, the Apostle intended, as he evidently did, that both whites and negroes were made of one blood; the most that can be said as to the subjectivity of negroes to evil influences is, that they are "by nature the children of wrath, even as others," and walk "according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."§

Yes, "*even as others*," for these things apply to all; to the Ephesian Christians, whom Paul addressed, and even to the Apostle himself, for he says that, among the children of disobedience "we also had our conversation in times past, and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others."|| All men are the slaves of sin and Satan, "the old serpent," until turned "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God."¶

If the ignorance and superstition of the black races have been more

* John viii., 34; Rom. vi., 16.

† Acts xxvi., 18.

‡ Acts xvii., 26.

§ Ephes. ii., 2.

|| Ephes. ii., 3.

¶ Acts xxvi., 18.

gross, and if they have sunk to greater depths of sensuality and degradation, it may be attributed to an intellectual and moral inferiority, without giving any strength to Dr. Cartwright's nigrition theory of the temptation. And whether their superstition has or has not assumed more the form of serpent-worship than the ethnicism of the whites, the fact that serpent-worship has prevailed so extensively since the fall, instead of favoring his theory, is a potent argument against it. That Satan has so constantly made use of the serpent's form for the exercise of "Satanic influences," corroborates the statement of Moses that in that form he influenced Eve. But where is the corroboration of Dr. Cartwright's statement that he influenced Eve in the form of a negro gardener? Is an instance recorded in which he has chosen to be adored as a negro? Mr. Bowen conjectures that Brama was probably a negro; but if so, his apotheosis, like that of white heroes and sages, was not because of his color, but of his attributed wisdom or prowess. In this respect even Dr. Clarke's simian theory has the advantage; for, though the worship of apes has never prevailed to a great extent, we sometimes hear of

"Such Gods as he
Whom India serves—the monkey deity."

but we never hear of negro-worshippers, except as that term is derisively applied to northern fanatics. Again, if *nachash* ought to have been translated "negro" in the English Bible, it ought to have been represented by the Greek equivalent of negro in the Septuagint version. And if the uninspired seventy fell into the error of rendering it "serpent" instead of "negro," the inspired Apostles, and the Son of God, who knows all things, ought to have corrected that important error, instead of leaving it to the erudition of "the great Hebrew scholar of the East, but now of the West, C. Blanchard Thompson," and his disciple, Dr. Cartwright, to discover the blunder. It has been seen that the Saviour and his Apostles spoke of Satan as "the Serpent," and not as the ape or negro.

It is obvious that the theory of Dr. Cartwright can derive no support from the word *nachash*. But Dr. Cartwright deduces another argument from the Hebrew words *naphesh chalyah*, which, in King James' version of the Bible, are rendered "creature that hath life," "living creature," and "living soul."† According to Dr. Cartwright, the correct translation is, "*intellectual creatures with immortal souls*." Concerning these words, in Genesis i., 24, he says:

The last word means "living creature," and the word *naphesh*, which invests *chalyah*, or living creature, with intellectuality and immortality, is not translated at all, either in the Douay Bible or that of King James. After the inferior races, or inferior *naphesh chalyah*, were created, God said, "Let us make Adam (or a superior race of *naphesh chalyah*) in our own image, and after our likeness, and let them have dominion over all things on earth;" including the negroes, of course. Chapter 2, verse 7, says, that Adam "became a living soul," became a *naphesh chalyah*. We understand by living soul, a creature with intelligence and immortal mind. If the same words had been translated the same

*Lalla Rookh.

† Genesis i., 20, 21, 24; ii., 7.

way in the twenty-fourth verse of the first chapter, we would have recognized two creations of intellectual and immortal beings at different times. But these words being merely rendered living creatures in the twenty-fourth verse, confounded the inferior *nafesh chaiyah* with the brutes mentioned in the same verse.—De Bow, vol. iv., p. 130. August, 1860.

Mr. Scull seems to concur in the opinion that the Hebrew has not always been correctly rendered; but his view is directly the reverse of Dr. Cartwright's. He holds that, in Genesis ii., 7, the words imply animal life only; and instead of "living soul," ought to be rendered "living creature," as in the first chapter. This issue must be settled by Hebrew scholars. To the mere English reader, however, it seems more probable that Mr. Scull is right. If *naphesh chaiyah* ought to be rendered "intellectual creatures with immortal souls," the Bible records the creation of such beings at three different times; the first from "the waters;"* the second and third from "the earth."† Cannot Dr. Cartwright's alembic, of which the concurbit seems to be philosophic, and the head poetic, distill a theory from this to the effect that negroes were the first created; and that, owing to their aqueous origin, the race has always been "unstable as water?"

In the twenty-fourth verse of the first chapter of Genesis, the words "cattle," "creeping thing" and "beast," appear to be in apposition with the words "living creature," not expressing something additional, but designating the class of creatures alluded to, as though it were written, "namely, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth." This construction is confirmed by the entire context, for, in every other instance Moses records, first, the decree of God, and next, the exercise of his creative energy in pursuance of the decree; and the statement of the latter follows the statement of the former, without addition or diminution. Thus, what "God made," is exactly what "God said, Let there be." In the twentieth and twenty-first verses mention is made of *naphesh chaiyah*, translated first "creature that hath life," and then "living creature." It is evident that they were not intellectual creatures with immortal souls, but aquatic animals, for, in blessing them and the fowls that were created with them, the Almighty said, "Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth."‡ To support his theory it devolves on Dr. Cartwright to prove that there are races of intellectual creatures with immortal souls inhabiting "the waters in the seas." Barnum's mermaid will not avail him, for that, unfortunately, is very dead, having died once in the monkey that furnished her a head, and once in the fish that complimented her with a tail. Hence her intellectuality cannot be established. If the *naphesh chaiyah* here mentioned were not intellectual creatures with immortal souls, neither were those mentioned in the twenty-fourth verse, and Dr. Cartwright's proposed translation is incorrect. There, as in the other instances, the things made are neither more nor less than the things whose creation was decreed; that is, the

* Genesis i., 20, 21.

† Genesis i., 24; ii., 7.

‡ Gen. i., 22.

"living creatures" of the decree were not intellectual creatures with immortal souls, but cattle, beasts, and creeping things. Thus falls to the ground Dr. Cartwright's proof that the Bible "positively affirms that there were, at least, two races of intellectual creatures with immortal souls, created at different times."* A part of the superstructure, built on this sandy foundation, remains to be noticed.

In Genesis, Shem, Ham and Japheth are called "the generations of Noah," and "the sons of Noah." In the same book are enumerated "the generations of the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth." It is said, "Ham is the father of Canaan," that unto Shem, Ham and Japheth "were born sons," and these sons are then enumerated by name, after which it is said, "These are the families of the sons of Noah, after their generations, in their nations."† Here the words "families," "generations," etc., are applied in the same manner to Noah and his sons. He was their father and they his sons in the same sense in which Ham was the father of Canaan, and Canaan the son of Ham. But, concerning "Cush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan," Dr. Cartwright says:

It is evident that Ham was not their natural father, or they his natural children, because some of them were plural.—De Bow, vol. iv., p. 134. August, 1860.

The reason is inadequate. As a name with a plural termination, such as Andrews, Hemans, Matthews, Peters, etc., etc., is now frequently given to an individual, so was it done among the Hebrews. For example, there was Eliakim, the son of Josiah, whose name the King of Egypt turned to Jehoiakim, still preserving the plural termination.‡ But if Mizraim was the name of a tribe, they may still have been the children of Ham, as the Jews are "the children of Israel," and Ham their father, as Shem was "the father of all the children of Eber,"§ that is the Hebrews. But if Ham was not literally the father of Cush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan, in what sense was he their father? Dr. Cartwright answers:

The word father is evidently used in the sense that the Catholics apply it to the Pope; papa or father meaning a head man, manager, or overseer of the nachash race, domesticated in Noah's house. There were four tribes or species under his direction—Cush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan, called the sons of Ham.—De Bow, vol. iv., p. 134. August, 1860.

By parity of reason, Japheth and Shem were also overseers of the nachash race; and there were seven tribes or species under the direction of the former, and five under the direction of the latter. Thus Noah ferried over from the antediluvian to the postdiluvian shore three overseers, and only sixteen slaves, unless "some of them were plural." Certainly the overseers were very inefficient if the best of them could only manage seven negroes. But they were not so properly overseers as "drivers," for Noah is called their father, that is, their papa, Pope,

* De Bow, vol. iv., 129. August, 1860.

† Gen. vii., 13; ix., 18, 19; x., 1, 2, 6, 21, 22, 31, 32.

‡ II. Kings xviii., 18; xxiii., 34; II. Chron. xxxvi., 4.

§ Gen. x., 21.

head man, manager, or overseer. And each of the slaves under their charge was made a driver also, for the book proceeds to give a list of "the sons of Gomer," "the sons of Cush," &c., &c. How the theological world will be startled when they discover that what they have looked on as important genealogical tables, turn out to be merely lists of negro slaves! What a patriarchal system will prevail on plantations when the negroes understand that they are the sons of the overseers! What an accession of dignity will it be to that functionary to find that he is a POPE!

To count no other slaves than those named in the inventory of Dr. Cartwright, at least four were "saved in the ark under the designation of living creatures;" or rather, "four species or races which Ham had charge of in the ark." After coming out of the ark, Ham was guilty of irreverence and impiety toward Noah, who thereupon cursed, not the offender, but one of the slaves under his charge; and the curse inflicted was perpetual servitude.† Here the venerable patriarch is represented as acting in the spirit of the Indian whose dignity was insulted by some young men who, while eating a melon, pelted him with the rind, saying, "Bobashelah, do you like watermelon?" The nocane's wrath had accumulated till it was bound to find some vent, when seeing a masterless dog pass by, he seized a large piece of rind and hurled it at the cur, crying, "Vatermelon—you like him?" adding an oath by way of emphasis. But there is no evidence that Noah felt such fear of Ham as to cause him to wreak his indignation in this vicarious way on the unoffending naphesh chayah of the nachash breed. If Canaan was only a slave, under charge of the overseer Ham, how was the impiety of the latter punished by the curse of the former? Ham's sin against his father might be recompensed by a blow against himself as a father, in consigning his offspring to perpetual bondage; but if the curse were against slaves under his charge as overseer, to him it was rather a favor, ensuring a continuance of his employment as overseer. Nay, where was the curse upon Canaan himself? Even in the paradise of Eden his progenitor was a slave, and was by original creation intended for servitude. Then what Dr. Clarke says, on the hypothesis that serpents were originally reptiles, as to their condemnation "*to creep on*," may be here applied. It would be no punishment to the "nachash race" to *slave on* "as they had done from their creation, and" by reason of physical laws, "must do while their race endures." If the curse against the beguiler, "on the belly shalt thou go," implies, as Drs. Clarke and Cartwright think, that that creature had previously "*walked erect*," much more does the curse against Canaan, "a servant of servants shall he be," imply that he had previously been free; thus subverting Dr. Cartwright's doctrine that the nachash race were slaves to Adam. Again, Dr. Cartwright says that "the typical species of naphesh chayah were saved in the ark," and of these he enumerates Cush, Misraim, Phut, and Canaan, four "intellectual creatures with immortal souls,"

* De Bow, vol. iv., p. 134.

† Gen. ix., 25.

saved in the ark. Besides these Moses states that Noah and his sons, and his and their wives, entered into the ark,* making *eight* souls, which added to the *four* make *twelve souls* that were saved in the ark. If so, can the Apostle Peter be acknowledged an inspired man, who says that in the ark "*few, that is eight souls* were saved"?† And again, according to Dr. Cartwright Noah and his sons descended from Adam, but Canaan from the most inferior of the inferior races of naphesh chayah; from "the ophidian Bimana," from "the negro gardener," from the nachash or snake-worshiper. On this point Dr. Cartwright says:

None of the four species or races which Ham had charge of in the ark, belonged to the nachash or snake-worshipping race, except Canaan."—De Bow, vol. iv., p. 134.

Then the Adamic race, descended from Noah, were not the brethren of Canaan; for the Bible applies that word only to those who descend from a common ancestor. Yet, in the curse, the Adamites are called Canaan's brethren. "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren."‡ And yet again: Dr. Cartwright states that "Cush, Misraim, Phut and Canaan, called the sons of Ham," were "saved in the ark;" while Moses expressly says that they were "born after the flood."§ Here, then, is a series of point blank contradictions. Those who have predetermined to reject the word of God, may attribute the blunders to Moses and Peter; but others will probably give more weight to their authority than to the assertions of Dr. Cartwright, who has no advantage over them in being removed many centuries farther from the events, and will not claim equality with them in regard to inspiration.

Dr. Cartwright has signally failed in his effort to disprove from the Bible the unity of the human race. He seems to regard any refutation of his theory of nigritian ophiolatry, not only a great injustice to himself, but a "great injustice done to the people of the Southern States, particularly the Confederate States."|| In what the injustice consists, he only can define. He probably thinks that his theory is an important stay to the cause of slavery; but if so, he is as much in error as in the theory itself. If it be conceded that the negro is not descended from Adam, it does not follow that slavery is right. The question immediately presents itself, what right has one race to enslave another? If the right be founded on intellectual, moral or physical superiority, there are disparities among the whites sufficient to justify the thralldom of many among them on the same ground. According to Dr. Cartwright, both races are intellectual creatures with immortal souls, and were alike created by the God and Father of us all. Then what right has the one above the other? The argument is as good as that derived from common ancestry, to which Dr. Cartwright's theory does too much honor, by endeavoring to evade it; for the family tie has been so attenuated by

* Genesis vii., 7.

† I. Peter iii., 20.

‡ Genesis ix., 25.

§ Genesis x., 1, 6.

|| Sunday Delta, March 17, 1860.

many divergent removes since the days of Noah, that the kindred cannot weigh much in the scales of the best adjusted conscience. Certainly the argument founded on kinship comes with a very ill grace from those abolitionists who, in times of peace, do not hesitate to defraud their nearer kinsmen, descended from Japheth; and in times of war visit them with murder, rapine, and every conceivable inhumanity. They forget that it is, to say the least, no greater crime to deprive a black brother of some portion of liberty, than to deprive a white brother of his subsistence by fraud, his character by slander, and his life by homicide. Yet, bad as is the argument against slavery, founded on the unity of the human race, Dr. Cartwright's theory implies a dread of it, and dignifies it by ingenious methods of dodging it. Nor has he won for slavery any vantage ground not before occupied. What better argument is there to justify the offspring of Adam in enslaving the antecedent human beings, than to justify the offspring of Japheth in enslaving the descendants of Ham? Did one of the pre-adamites beguile our grandmother Eve? So also did Ham treat our grandfather Noah, a much nearer relative of ours, with the grossest disrespect. Was the pre-adamite condemned to hereditary bondage for his offence? So were the sons of Ham condemned to be the most abject of slaves to their brethren. The gist of Dr. Cartwright's argument seems to be contained in these words:

After the inferior races, or inferior *naphesh chalyah*, were created, God said, "Let us make Adam (or a superior race of *naphesh chalyah*) in our own image, and after our likeness, and let them have dominion over all things on earth:" including the negroes of course.—*De Bow*, vol. iv., 130.

The argument here resolves itself into this: The holding of negro slaves is accordant with the will of God, therefore it is right. This is the true and only tenable ground on which to defend the institution of slavery. But does the proof of the minor premise depend on establishing from the Bible that the whites and negroes have not a common ancestor? If so, the institution stands on sliding ground; or at least Dr. Cartwright has not shown its solidity.

If the will of God justifies the Adamite in holding in servitude a descendant of a pre-adamite, it will equally justify him in holding in bondage a descendant of Adam, and the true Scriptural defence of the institution of slavery is to be found in the unrepenting recognition of it in the word of God. It is a singular fact that while Northern fanatics are blindly contending against slavery, and often wresting the Holy Scriptures to their purpose, very many of the Southern advocates of the institution rush deliriously into the opposite extreme, and very unnecessarily wrest the Scriptures to establish what they establish without wresting, and leave it to the rational men of the North to give the only true Bible defence of slavery. This was done by Rabbi Raphall, and Dr. Van Dyke, in their fast day discourses, delivered in New York last January. The former greatly errs in supposing that "the heathen view of slavery, which prevailed at Rome," "has been adopted in the South," and that here the slave is reduced "to a thing," and therefore

has no rights. The South has adopted the Hebrew idea of slavery, as expounded by the Rabbi himself, and by which the slave is a thing when considered with reference to his master's right of property, but a person when considered with reference to his own right of personal security and humane treatment. Nothing worse can be truthfully said of slavery in Mississippi than he says of slavery among the Jews, in the following brief extracts, in which he speaks of the Jewish law of slavery as recorded in the sacred Scriptures:

On the most solemn occasion therein recorded, when God gave the Ten Commandments on Mount Sinai, * * * slaveholding is not only recognized and sanctioned, as an integral part of the social structure, when it is commanded that the Sabbath of the Lord is to bring rest to "thy male slave and thy female slave;" but the property in slaves is placed under the same protection as any other species of lawful property, when it is said, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, or his field, or his male slave, or his female slave, or his ox, or his ass, or aught that belongeth to thy neighbor." * * * Over these heathen slaves the owner's property was absolute; he could put them to hard labor, to the utmost extent of their physical strength; he could inflict any degree of chastisement short of injury to life or limb.

Just so do the laws of Mississippi recognize, sanction, and protect slave property. They empower the owner to impose hard labor, and inflict chastisement, yet they not only protect the life and limb of the slave, but protect him against hardship and cruelty far short of injury to life and limb. Then the Southern slave owner can well claim that slavery, as it exists in the South, is recognized and sanctioned by the laws of God, as delivered to the Israelites. If it be objected that while slavery was "winked at" when Moses delivered the Levitical code, it is now a sin; the slaveholder may ask, with Rabbi Raphall, "When, and by what authority, do you draw the line?" That eminent Israelite shows that the change is not effected in the Christian Scriptures. He says, very properly:

Receiving slavery as one of the conditions of society, the New Testament nowhere interferes with or contradicts the slave code of Moses; it even preserves a letter, written by one of the most eminent Christian teachers, to a slaveholder, on sending back his runaway slave.

The laws of God regulated the institution of slavery among his chosen people. Jesus Christ, whom Christians recognize as "God manifest in the flesh," and his chosen disciples, inspired to teach "the truth as it is in Christ," reproved every grade and character of sin, yet frequently alluded to the existing institution of slavery, without a syllable of censure. This is, briefly, the true Bible defence of slavery. It requires no fanciful interpretations, and no distortions of the sacred text. A very small man, encouraged by a very large name, to write a disquisition on "The Philosophy of Human Nature," introduces into it a chapter on slavery, in which he says "Nothing can be so absurd as to hear a slave-driver professing or holding forth the pure example of our Savior." Not to comment on the epithet he has chosen to apply to masters, it is more absurd for one to profess to be a philosopher, yet shut his eyes to

* Phil. of Hum. Nat., by Francis E. Brewster, p. 305.

facts so incontrovertible as those just stated. It is said that Dr. Gardiner Spring, in the midst of an abolition discourse, was interrupted by the inquiry, "Does not the Bible recognize slavery?" to which he flip-pantly replied, "Yes, just as it recognizes hell." This is a fine specimen of the *ad captandum* style, worthy of a practiced demagogue, and most unworthy of a minister of the gospel of truth. Take his reply at its greatest value, it proves nothing against slavery. Does the Bible recognize hell as a human, or a diabolical institution, contrary to God's will, and deserving to be immediately abolished? By no means; but as a divinely appointed institution, designed to carry out the righteous purposes of God. Let the same be said of slavery. But hell was made necessary by sin, and designed for the punishment of rebels against God. Let the same be said of slavery. But hell is certainly an evil. Let the same be said of slavery. Every punishment is an evil, but designed to prevent or correct greater evil; and slavery is an evil which a beneficent God has made an instrument to work out the intellectual, moral and religious elevation of the nigratian race. The fall of man has introduced many evils, of which many are now necessary, and can only be abolished by incurring other and greater evils. If Dr. Spring cannot perceive why a good God permits one man to hold another in servitude, it is probably not the only divine mystery which his finite plummet cannot fathom. But when his inability to penetrate the counsels of God causes him to denounce as sin what God has not condemned, he is not far from the position of the impious infidel who said that if he had been consulted before the creation, he would have saved the Almighty from many blunders.

What is "the conclusion of the whole matter?" First, that all men are not created *white*; or, in other words, that the negro races are *men*. Secondly, that all men are not created *equal*. Thirdly, that Mr. Jefferson erred, and was therefore fallible; and, though a man of a very high order of genius, he was not a divine legate, nor an inspired writer. It is evident that, in the Declaration of Independence, he did not use the word "*men*" in any supposed "Hebrew sense," but in its ordinary colloquial sense. Another effort has been made, by an honored contributor of De Bow's *Review*, to save him from the imputation of having blundered, by supposing that he used the word "*created*" with reference to the original creation of men "*in the loins of Adam*." That construction would establish his accuracy in stating a fact at the expense of his logical acumen; for it would defeat the whole argument of the Declaration of Independence. How would the original equality of man justify the American people in asserting their right of self-government, if the original equality had been subsequently destroyed by the same Almighty Power by whom it was originally bestowed? Mr. Jefferson was attempting to establish a then existing right of equality and independence, in the American people. He employed a premise sufficient for that purpose, without taking time to test its truth except as applicable to the case in point, and with this he was satisfied. Others, with more leisure for speculations about abstractions, have tested the

principle by applying it to another set of circumstances, and the result is a *reductio ad absurdum*. All men are *not* created equal. All men are *not* endowed by their Creator with the unalienable right of liberty. This is a doctrine essentially infidel, and directly at war with the revealed Word of God. Upon the sure foundation of that sacred Word, in its plain interpretation, let the cause of the master rest. An eagerness to screen it behind some new and improbable interpretation seems to betray a tremulous apprehension that it really finds no bulwark in the Book of books. If that sacred volume be against it, then let slavery at once be spurned; for nothing should be defended which is contrary to the will of God. But it has been seen that it is recognized, sanctioned, and regulated, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

If the foregoing conclusions be correct, it follows as a corollary, that the best way to defeat abolitionism is to overthrow infidelity; the best way to establish the right of masters to hold their slave property is, not to search out fanciful interpretations and improbable theories, but to show that the Bible is the revealed Word of God. To this one object let all believers apply all their powers of logic, leaving slavery to stand or fall upon this issue. Abolitionism is but one of the heads of the hydra Infidelity, though it often assumes the guise of philanthropy and even of Christianity; "and no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light."*

ART. VIII.—THE PINE FORESTS OF THE SOUTH.†

THE LONG LEAF OR SOUTHERN PINE.—The seed covers of the cones are armed with short, strong, and not very sharp spurs. The seeds, when stripped of their shells, are white and larger than a common grain of wheat, and are of agreeable taste, having a resinous flavor. They are so eagerly sought for by hogs, that scarcely any are left on the ground to germinate. For this cause, as well as the great destruction of the trees, in tapping them for turpentine, these pines are rapidly diminishing in number, and if not protected, this noble species will almost disappear from the great region which it has heretofore almost exclusively covered and adorned. This tree is especially resinous, and is the only pine that is tapped for turpentine. Scarcely a good tree in North Carolina has escaped this operation, unless in some few tracts of land where that business has not yet been begun. This tree also has furnished the best of pine lumber; but its durability is said to be much lessened by the tree, when living, having been made to yield turpentine. The heart is large and the grain of this timber is close, and only inferior in that respect to the short leaf yellow pine (*p. mitis* or *variabilis*). For naval architecture, timber of this tree, when large enough for the purposes required, is preferred to that of all other pines.

* II. Cor. xi., 14.

† Continued from April No.

The broad belt of land stretching through NoNrth Carolina, which has been covered by the long-leaf pine, except for the borders of rivers, is generally level, sandy and naturally poor. Even if it had been much richer and better for agricultural profits, the labors of agriculture would still have been neglected in the generally preferred pursuit of the turpentine harvest. But so poor were the lands and so great the profits of labor, and even of the land, in the turpentine business, compared to other available products, that capital thus invested has generally yielded more profit than agriculture on the richest lands. Therefore, it is neither strange nor censurable, but altogether judicious, while these great profits were to be obtained, that nearly all the labor of this region was devoted to making turpentine, instead of enriching and cultivating the soil. But the effect of the course pursued has been not only to limit agricultural labors to the narrowest bounds, (as was proper,) but also to prevent almost every effort for improving the soil and the productions of the small extent of land under tillage. However, the juncture is now reached when this formerly most profitable turpentine business must be gradually lost; and then agriculture and improvement of fertility will not only be attended to, but will be especially rewarded in many portions of this now poor region, which yet promises great resources for being fertilized. The rapid destruction of the forests of long-leaf pine is not only the necessary result of the two causes before stated, but the work has been still more rapidly forwarded in some places, by another cause. At one time in years past, there was a sudden and wide-spread disease of this kind of pine, caused by the attack of some insect unknown before or since. Fortunately the operation, though far extended, was not general. But whatever it was, the destruction of the living trees was nearly or quite complete. For thousands of acres of pine forest together, and in a single summer, every tree was killed. The evidences of such destruction in the still standing dead trunks, are now seen in many places, and most extensively, as I lately saw, along the route of the Wilmington and Manchester Railway, not many miles south of the Cape Fear river. Similar extensive and as transient destructive visitations, had occurred long before. One of these I remember to have read of forty years ago, in a communication to the Memoirs of the Philadelphia Agricultural Society. Partial as these depredations have been, as to species, any one proprietor, or many adjacent proprietors, in the route of these ravages, might have the whole value of their pine forests utterly destroyed in a few weeks.

The great beauty and striking appearance (to a stranger) of a southern pine tree, of great size and fine form, are owing to the long and straight and slender trunk, and to the very long leaves and large cones. In the close growth of forests, the branches, like other old and good timber pines of other species, are crooked, irregular, rigid and unsightly. But these and all defects are overlooked in their forest growth, when all the numerous trees make but one great and magnificent object, their tops meeting to make one great and thick canopy of green, supported,

as far as the sight can stretch, over the open space below, by innumerable tall columns of the long and straight and naked bodies of the pines.

THE CEDAR PINE (*Pinus inops*).—This pine, like some others, has sundry names, and some of which are also applied elsewhere to other species. In Virginia it is known in different places as the "spruce" or "river" or "cedar pine." The last vulgar designation, which will be here used, has been applied because of a slight general resemblance of the growth and appearance of the tree to the cedar; at least more so than of any other pine; and so far the name is descriptive and appropriate. The most general vulgar name farther north is "jersey pine," which is adopted by Michaux.

This pine is generally seen only of young growth and small sizes. Where long established, and of largest sizes, in Virginia, it is rarely found exceeding fifteen inches in diameter. The trunk is not often straight enough for sawing into timber. The bark is very thin, and also smooth compared to all other pines of this region, and the sap-wood also is very thin. Of the older trees, nearly all the trunk is of heart-wood. Though the tree is but moderately supplied with resin, it makes good fuel, and much better than the other pines of Virginia, of new growth and but moderate sizes, such as are mostly used for fuel, for market, and especially for the furnaces of steam engines. The leaves of this pine grow in twos (from each sheath), are generally shorter than any other kind, usually from one and a half to two inches, and about one-twentieth to one-sixteenth broad. The cones usually are from one and three-fourths to two and one-fourth inches long, and three-fourths to one inch thick, when closed. The separate seed-covers on the cones have each a small and sharp prickle, curved backward. The cones are set drooping backward on the branches; and they remain so long before falling, that the old and the new together sometimes stand on a tree as thick as the fruit on an apple tree. The branches are much more slender, tapering, and flexible than of other pines, and the general figures and outlines of the well-grown trees are more graceful and beautiful. When making the entire growth of a thick wood, and on the slope of a hill side, where the tops of the higher trees are seen above the trees next below, and all thus best exposed to view, the foliage and the whole growth, so disposed, are singularly beautiful.

I have not observed this tree anywhere in North Carolina. It is but sparsely set and mostly of young growth in the south-eastern parts of Virginia. But the growth is there increasing and spreading. In Prince George, on and near James River, the young trees are far more numerous, and more widely scattered now than was the case forty years ago, when I knew them there only on some small spots near the river banks. On the lower Appomattox, in that county, this is now the principal pine growth, and of its large sizes. In Westmoreland, and the other parts of the peninsula, between the lower Potomac and Rapahannock, this is now the main growth, and the great supply for market fuel, which is so great a product and labor of that region. Yet I have heard, from Mr. Willoughby Newton, that it is remembered

when not a tree of this species was to be seen in all the extent of that peninsula. It is now there the regular second-growth pine, which first springs on and occupies all abandoned fields, as do the other "old field" pines, of different species, in other parts of Virginia and North Carolina.

THE WHITE PINE (*Pinus Strobus*).—This tree, of beautiful foliage and general appearance, and which grows to a magnificent height, is not known in eastern North Carolina, and is so rarely seen anywhere in Virginia east of the mountains, that it scarcely comes within the limits of my designed subject for remark. However, it is named for the contrast it presents, and thereby setting off more strongly the opposite qualities of other species. But its description need not occupy more than a small space. This is the great timber pine of the Northern States. In travelling westward from the sea-coast through the middle of Virginia, this tree is first seen in the narrow valleys of the North Mountains in Augusta county. It is there called the silver pine. The small trees are beautiful and the large ones magnificent. The bark of the young trees is very smooth, (in this differing from all other pines,) and the branches spring from and surround the young stems in regular succession, and three or four form the same height, on opposite sides, as do the young side shoots of dogwood. The leaves grow in fives from each sheath, about four inches long and very slender and delicate, and of a bluish green color and silken gloss. This pine differs from all the other species growing in our region, prefers such fine soils as are found on the alluvial but dry margins of rivers and in mountain glens.

ART. IX.—HOW OUR INDUSTRY PROFITS BY THE WAR.

(Continued from the April Number of the Review.)

RESPONSES FROM GEORGIA.

DALTON.—1. Most prominent among the new branches of industry in this town, caused by the war, are the factories of cartouch boxes, bayonet scabbards, sword belts, knapsacks, canteens, clothing and similar articles of military equipment, which are being made on an extensive scale. Also oil cloth, which is made in large quantities, but for army and private use. A large contract has also been taken in this town for swords, but its execution has been delayed by the illness of the contractor, who is now slowly recovering. It is impossible to state the amount of capital invested, or the quantity and value of the manufactured articles produced, but they have given active and remunerative employment to a large population, male and female.

2. The manufacture of boots and shoes has been begun by three different firms, to an extent somewhat limited at present, from the difficulty of procuring workmen and material, but with a view of gradually increasing their business to meet the demands of the markets south and southwest from us. At present the home demand gives

them full employment. We have one tannery in the town and several in the neighborhood, which were languishing before the war, but are now doing an active business. Arrangements are being made to manufacture largely several articles of prime necessity, which have heretofore been supplied entirely from the Eastern and Middle States of the late United States, but the parties engaged in these enterprises do not wish to have them particularized at present.

Our position is central, connecting directly by railroad with all parts of the Confederacy; the climate salubrious; provisions cheap, being surrounded by a very productive country, and perhaps no other point in the Confederate States offers greater inducements for the investment of capital in manufactures. Here the cotton region and the grain and tobacco region meet and run into each other. We have every facility of timber, coal, iron, copper and transportation. In the first settlement of this continent population followed along the rivers and estuaries of the Atlantic or the great rivers of the West that seek an outlet through the Gulf of Mexico, leaving this, the most beautiful and attractive portion of the continent, unnoticed and in the possession of the Cherokee Indians until very recently, because of its distance from the coast, the difficulty of access and the cost of transportation. The embarrassments have very recently been removed by the construction of the great lines of railroads passing through this place from Memphis and Nashville to Savannah and Charleston, and from Norfolk and Richmond to Pensacola, Mobile and New Orleans. But the country is new and undeveloped, most of the settlers were men of small means who have to go in debt for their settlements, and there is but little disengaged and convertible capital, which can as yet be applied to the development of its manufacturing capacities. The money capital to do this must be brought from other parts of the Confederacy, or we must wait for that gradual accumulation which is rapidly taking place at home.

MARIETTA.—With the exception of the comparatively unimportant manufactures of printing ink and letter envelopes, there are no new "branches of manufacture, or other industry," within the corporate limits of this city, "which did not previously exist," or "have sprung up during the existing war."

There has been considerable activity among leather dealers and workers, and large numbers of knapsacks, in addition to an increased quantity of shoes, have been made in our city.

We have one large flouring mill in the city, and several smaller ones in the county.

At Roswell, in our county, there is a large cotton factory, which has been for some years in successful operation. I have no doubt, could the necessary machinery be obtained, they would turn their attention to the manufacture of calicoes, &c. At present they only manufacture yarns, osnaburgs and rope.

At the latter place there is also a woollen factory, where very excellent jeans and kerseys are made. But such has been the demand upon them for soldiers' clothing, they have had no time to consider of new branches of manufacture, or varieties of style even.

There was at one time at the same place a broom factory. I do not know if it is now in existence.

Except several tanneries, I know of no other manufactures in the county. In the neighboring county of Campbell there is also a cotton factory of some extent. They have added to the yarns and osnaburgs previously manufactured, an article of sewing thread, spun from long cottons, which, I am informed, meets with favorable sale.

The war is evidently stirring a spirit of enterprise among our people, and should it continue a few years, we will find ourselves, at its close, independent of the North for a thousand things, for the supply of which we have foolishly looked to them. This alone, if our people would look at it aright, would make the war a paying one to us.

No country in the world presents greater advantages for manufacturing than Cherokee Georgia. Abounding in the most ample and profuse water power, with forests of the finest woods yet uncleared—vast mineral resources scarcely yet explored, convenient to the coal fields of East Tennessee, and by many thought to possess that mineral itself, though not yet developed—it would seem to have been designed by Nature for a great manufacturing district. I have no doubt that time and the march of events will yet make it such.

COLUMBUS.—One large flouring mill (Palace Mill), running 6 years.

Eagle Manufacturing Company, owning two large cotton and woolen mills. Capacity largely increased since April 1, 1861.

The following have sprung up since April 1, 1861:

Sword (cavalry and artillery) factory, by Louis Haiman, makes now 100 per week, and can increase to 200 per week, and is arranging to commence manufacturing fire-arms by January 1, 1862, with ability to make 5 Mississippi rifles per day, to increase to 30 per day.

S. Rothchild, army clothing manufacturer—has already furnished to Confederate States Quartermaster Department 4,000 suits, and to military companies 1,500 suits.

Brands & Kerner manufacture India rubber cloth, make now 1,200 yards per week, can make 2,500 yards per week. They also manufacture drums (bass and kettle), have already made 1,000, can make 100 per week. They also make fifes.

Eagle Manufacturing Company also makes good quality India rubber cloth.

Sappington & Co. make shoes for the army, can make 8,000 per annum. Have sold Quartermaster Department (F. M. Dillard, Agt.), for the army, 1,000 pairs.

A. D. Brown, Sr., makes shuttles and supplies cotton mills over the whole Confederacy. Makes spinning wheels.

W. B. Brown & Co. cast cannon. See accompanying report.

Barringer & Morton make gun carriages.

Cadman makes military buttons. Thom makes the same.

W. S. Loyd makes military caps.

S. D. Thom makes military caps.

Columbus Iron Works Company has in operation twelve or fifteen

large and small lathes and customary machinery, also a large foundry attached to the building, in all 300 feet long and 40 feet broad; on the premises is a large blacksmith shop, new, 100 feet long.

They are now building engines and machinery for a gunboat for Apalachicola Bay, also making shot for the defences there. They employ in all about 100 hands. Belonging in part to the same property is a large foundry 60 feet square, with an air furnace capable of melting twenty tons pig iron at a heat. This establishment is now making brass field pieces for the State of Florida, and have now a proposition from Col. Gorgas to make 1,000 tons shot and shell.

Attached to the latter is now being erected a rolling mill for the purpose of making iron suitable for gun barrels and manufacturing small arms; also attached is a brass foundry, where they are now making small brasses for gun and sword mountings, &c. In the upper part of the building of the Columbus Iron Works Co., is the sword factory of L. Haiman & Bro., who now make say from one to two hundred swords, sabres, &c., weekly.

Also, in the same place an armory machinery is now fitting up for the manufactory of the Mississippi rifles.

The Eagle Manufacturing Company of Columbus, Geo., have within the past six months largely increased their regular styles of goods, and added several articles to their list of production which were demanded in consequence of our separation from the Northern States and the blockade of our ports. At the commencement of the war we made per week two thousand yards of cassimere, suitable for soldiers' clothing; we now make twelve thousand yards. We have adapted a portion of our machinery to the manufacture of mariners' stripes used for soldiers' shirts; of this article we make seven thousand yards weekly. We have also adapted a portion of our machinery to the manufacture of tent cloth; of which we make eight thousand yards per week. We have connected with our establishment the manufacture of India rubber cloth. The demand for this article is greater than we can supply. It is used for overcoats, capes, cloaks, knapsacks, &c., &c. We now produce five hundred yards per week, and shall soon perfect our arrangements to turn out one thousand yards weekly. Our mills produce other articles of prime necessity, osnaburgs, sheetings, kerseys, yarns, ropes of various sizes, sewing thread and twine. We make eighteen hundred pounds of rope and six hundred pounds of sewing thread per week. The aggregate value of our whole production is now at the rate of about six hundred thousand dollars per annum. A large increase in the past six months has been attained. The demand for many articles required by our mills for the manufacture of our goods has been met by the mechanics in our midst. One of our citizens has invented the machinery required to make shuttles. Another has turned his attention to the manufacture of bobbins and spools. A third to making loom harness, and a fourth to making pickers. In fact nearly all the articles wanted by our mills, are now or soon will be supplied by our own people.

MACON.—The following is a list of parties manufacturing in this city and vicinity, with the quantities manufactured, as near as can be ascertained:

E. J. Johnston & Co.—Fine infantry swords, about 40 per week; cavalry sabres, about 40 per week; artillery sabres, about 40 per week; naval cutlasses, about 40 per week; belt clasps and mountings for same.

W. J. McElroy.—Fine infantry swords, about 20 per week; bowie knives and sheaths, about 20 per week; naval cutlasses, about 20 per week; sergeants' swords, about 20 per week; sword belts and straps for same; belt clasps and mountings for same; sheet brass and copper for mountings; brass calvary spurs, about 50 per week.

D. C. Hodgkins & Son.—Military muskets, newest pattern, rifled, about 100 per month; stocks, mountings, &c., to match; surgical instruments, cotton samplers, &c.

Nathan Weed.—Smiths' Bellows, extra quality, about 6 per week; self-sharpening straw cutters, about 3 per week; plows, wagon boxes, spokes, rims and hubs.

J. M. Boardman.—Envelopes, 5,000 per week.

G. Wood & Co.—Railroad wheelbarrows, 25 per week; camp cots, about 25 per week; camp stools, chests, about 25 per week; button moulds, any quantity.

Smith & Cleghorn.—Artillery harness, cavalry saddles, leggings, sword belts, knapsacks.

Smith & Little.—Artillery harness, cavalry saddles, bridles, sword belts, knapsacks.

Schofield Brothers.—Balls for cannon, powder machinery.

J. D. & C. N. Findlay.—Sugar pans and mills, as ordered; railroad castings, car wheels, steam engines.

T. C. Nisbet.—Castings of all kinds, brick machines, bark mills.

John G. White (N. Weed, Agent).—Shoe lasts, turned, 400 per week; peg machines; shoe pegs, 30 bushels per week; stocks and dies; spokes, rims and hubs, 50 sets per week; gun carriages.

O. G. Sparks.—Copperas, about 400lbs. per week.

J. Russell & Co.—Lager beer, as wanted.

Levi & Burke.—Enamelled cloth, 700 yards per week.

Isaac Scott.—Tent cloth.

H. Kretzn.—Soda and butter crackers.

J. Dinkler.—Fancy and plain candies.

D. B. Woodruff.—Straw cutters, sash, &c.

E. Winship.—Clothing of all kinds.

Macon Factory.—Cotton sheetings, sewing thread.

F. Herzog.—Engraver and etching on steel and glass.

B. P. Freeman.—Ditto.

THOMASTON.—The three cotton mills in our county work up in the aggregate about 3,000 bales of the raw material, principally in yarns and osnaburgs. I have just learned that a shoe-peg machine is now in progress in our town, and will likely go in operation in a week or two. It is intended to turn out eight or ten bushels per day.

The shoe, harness, and tanning business has been carried on here to some extent for a number of years, besides many other branches, such as carriage, wheel-wrighting, black-smithing, carpentering by steam machinery, etc., etc.

WASHINGTON.—The only branch of manufactures which has sprung up here since the war began, is cutting and making oil cloth garments for soldiers. The manufactory commenced operations some months since, and has made about 2,000 garments in all, of a superior kind. We have a cotton factory on the extreme side of our county, which only makes osnaburgs and yarns, known as the Broad River Manufacturing Company. The planters of our county are many of them returning to the old fashioned wheel and loom.

I should also state that the planters have invented a new species of gin band, suitable for all sorts of machinery, which is made of woven cotton threads stoutly twisted.

EDITORIAL.

Journal of the War.

The consecutive numbers of the Review, up to the period of its temporary suspension in April last, furnish a brief monthly summary of events marking the progress of the war.

About that time, the editor commenced to note, from day to day, the items of intelligence which came wafted on the wires, or on the breath of rumor, sifting out such as seemed the best established, and adding particulars which were furnished by official reports. These notes were made at various points in the Confederacy, and, it is hoped, will be found useful and interesting.

A portion only of the Journal can appear in the present, but it will be brought down to date in the next issue of the Review.

Sunday, April 6.—New Orleans.—Dr. Palmer, who has been almost the Peter the Hermit of the great crusade on which we have entered against Yankee domination and tyranny, discourses to-day upon the seemingly drooping fortunes of this Confederacy, and is listened to with breathless interest. With the inspiration of his theme, and the natural eloquence and fire which are his, he tells his audience that God is about to show them the way out of the wilderness, and calls their attention to the sermon which, on the great day of Manassas, he had preached before them, and in which, under the control of feelings for which he could not account, he had foreshadowed the glorious results which were being achieved far away upon the Potomac. The same ardor was upon him now. In spite of the darkness and gloom which are around us, we seem to hail it as a bright harbinger of events upon the Tennessee, which almost involve the fate of a nation. Late at night, a telegram reaches the St. Charles Hotel, and is read by one of

General Lovell's aids, to the effect that we have won a glorious victory near Corinth, and that the army of the enemy will be captured or annihilated. The news is received with shouts, which seem to shake the great walls of the edifice, and men, and women too, shake hands and almost embrace over the glorious tidings. The despatch is read over and over with increasing enthusiasm.

Monday Morning.—General rejoicing throughout New Orleans. The desponding look up. The sanguine see no bounds to the results of our victory. Tennessee is open to us. Nashville regained. Our forces have the way opened to the Ohio and beyond. Later in the day some doubts are thrown out as the extent of the victory, and of the enemy's forces engaged. Beauregard calls it the battle of Shiloh. He telegraphs:

Battle Field, April 6.—Dear Brother: We have won a glorious victory. I am unhurt.
G. T. BEAUREGARD.

Tuesday.—In the dust again. The erect countenances of yesterday disappear from the streets. A line from the Secretary of War cruelly mars our rejoicings and our hopes. The enemy has rallied and united his wings. The contest has been renewed, and the result is doubtful. Finally Beauregard telegraphs that he has fallen back to his original position. Do these things mean defeat after all? Is the prize lost at the moment we grasp it? Gloomy forebodings emanate from every quarter. The presence of men is painful. The night is not yet past.

Just Heaven, watch over the fortunes of our afflicted country!

It is eleven P. M., and an extra from the Delta dissipates the gloom and darkness which are upon the city. We did not retire defeated. The battle had been won and not lost. The despatch reads:

The Confederate victory is complete. Yesterday was a more glorious day than Sunday.

We killed, captured and wounded from 10,000 to 20,000 of the Federals.

We drove the enemy across the river.

It is believed that his gunboats cannot get down the river, on account of the low stage of water.

Wednesday.—The remains of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston are brought to New Orleans, and are escorted by a grand military procession to the City Hall, where they are laid out in state. One of his staff, Col. O'Hara, with whom we conversed, leads us to apprehend that many of the arms and cannon captured in Tennessee were afterwards abandoned in falling back. No additional facts are received from the battle field. Nothing from the fleet below. Another of the gunboats left the levee at dark for that destination.

Thursday.—Nothing more from Corinth, except that the number of our prisoners is between 3 and 4,000, and perhaps more. Several of the enemy's gunboats are reported as below Island No. 10 on the Mississippi, having passed our works in the night. There are rumors that the island has been abandoned or surrendered. The universal opinion is that it will prove untenable. Fort Pillow will be our main defence above, and that is said to be of great strength and nearly completed. If we can have a few weeks more for preparation, New Orleans will be secure from assaults from above or below. The floating battery, which we visit to-day, is on the eve of completion, and can be made available at any moment. She is clad heavily with iron and mounts many very heavy guns.

Friday.—The news is that Fort Pulaski, which protects the approaches to Savannah, is undergoing a furious assault from the Yankee fleet. It is a strong work, and it is believed can hold out for several months.

Saturday.—There is now no longer doubt, though the military authorities suppress the information, that Island No. 10, a strong fortification defending the upper Mississippi, and upon which strong expectations have been placed, has been captured, and the entire garrison, guns, stores, etc., are in the possession of the enemy.

Sunday, April 13. — News of the surrender of Fort Pulaski, which leaves

Savannah greatly exposed. If the enemy pushes his advantages the worst may be expected. Every day teaches more and more that the coast cannot be successfully defended, and that men and means are wasted in the effort. Southern independence must be won by the armies of the interior.

The enemy has advanced upon Huntsville and Decatur, and captured the bridge over the Tennessee, which he will undoubtedly destroy. This is a serious blow.

Telegram from the mouth of the Mississippi announces a brush between the Forts and the enemy. We may expect his great demonstration soon.

Gen. Gladden, one of the wounded at Shiloh, is dead.

Monday.—Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army announcing the death of Gen. A. Sidney Johnston.

Headquarters Army of Mississippi,
Corinth, Miss., April 10.

Soldiers: Your late Commander-in-Chief, Gen. A. S. Johnston, is dead! A fearless soldier, a sagacious captain, a reproachless man, has fallen. One who, in his devotion to our cause, shrank from no sacrifice; one who, animated by a sense of duty, and sustained by a sublime courage, challenged danger, and perished gallantly for his country whilst leading forward his brave columns to victory. His signal example of heroism and patriotism, if imitated, would make his army invincible.

A grateful country will mourn his loss, revere his name, and cherish his many virtues.

G. T. BEAUREGARD,
General Commanding.

Tuesday. — Wounded soldiers, whom we meet to-day from the recent battle field, estimate our killed and wounded at eight or ten thousand. Nine out of ten of the wounds, however, are slight. The enemy's loss will be greater.

Wednesday.—Yankee accounts claim the victory at Shiloh, but admit a frightful loss, 15 or 20,000, including some of their generals. As usual, they greatly exaggerate the Confederate numbers and diminish their own. We may never know the facts. Great disaffection towards the Federals is reported in Kentucky. Congress passes the Conscription Act, which, if fully carried out, will give the Confederacy an army of seven or eight hundred thousand. The measure is a wise one, and in good time.

Thursday, April 17.—An action took place yesterday on the Peninsula of Virginia. The enemy attempted to force our position, but were repulsed. We lost 20 killed and 75 wounded.

Gen. Beauregard has issued an address to the army of the Mississippi.

Headquarters Army of the Mississippi,
Corinth, Miss., April 16, 1862.

Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi: You have bravely fought the invaders of your soil for two days in his own position. You have fought your superior in numbers, in arms, in all the appliances of war. Your success has been signal; his losses have been immense, outnumbering yours in all save the personal worth of the slain. You drove him from his camp to the shelter of his iron-clad gunboats, which alone saved him from complete disaster. You captured his artillery, more than twenty-five flags and standards, his tents, and over three thousand prisoners. You have done your duty. Your commanding general thanks you; your countrymen are proud of your deeds on the bloody field of Shiloh, confident in the ultimate results of your valor.

Soldiers! untoward events saved the enemy from annihilation. His insolent presence still pollutes your soil. His hostile flag still flaunts before you. There can be no peace so long as these things are. Trusting that God is with us as with our fathers, let us seek to be worthy of His favor, and resolve to be independent or perish in the struggle.

G. T. BEAUREGARD,
General Commanding.

The enemy shelled our forts yesterday at the mouth of the river, but without damage.

Friday.—Bombardment of the forts continued during the day, and thousands of shells are thrown without effect. The enemy on the other hand are damaged by our fire, but the particulars are not known. The enemy are reported as demoralized by their recent defeat on the Tennessee. The attack on Fort Macon, N. C., is vigorously waged by him, and he has driven our troops beyond the Rappahannock, and is in possession of Fredericksburg. Stonewall Jackson has been compelled again to retire with loss, in the presence of overwhelming numbers, and is en route for Staunton. General Price, the hero of Missouri, has published an address to his army.

Headquarters Missouri State Guard,

Des Arc, Ark., April 8, 1862.

Soldiers of the State Guard: I command you no longer. I have this day resigned the commission which your patient endurance, your devoted patriotism, and your dauntless bravery have made so honorable. I have done this that I may the better serve you, our State, and our country—that I may the sooner lead you back to the fertile prairies, the rich woodlands and majestic streams of our beloved Missouri—that I may the more certainly restore you to your once happy homes, and to the loved ones there.

Five thousand of those who have fought side by side with us, under the grizzly bears of Missouri, have followed me into the Confederate camp. They appeal to you, as I do, by all the tender memories of the past, not to leave us now, but to go with us wherever the path of duty may lead, till we shall have conquered a peace, and won our independence by brilliant deeds upon new fields of battle.

Soldiers of the State Guard! Veterans of six pitched battles and nearly twenty skirmishes! Conquerors in them all! Your country, with its "ruined hearths and shrines," calls upon you to rally once more in her defence, and rescue her forever from the terrible thralldom which threatens her. I know that she will not call in vain. The insolent and barbarous hordes which have dared to invade our soil and to desecrate our homes, have just met with a signal overthrow beyond the Mississippi. Now is the time to end this unhappy war. If every man will but do his duty, his own roof will shelter him in peace from the storms of the coming winter.

Let not history record that the men who bore with patience the privations of Cow-skin prairie, who endured uncomplainingly the burning heats of a Missouri summer, and the frosts and snows of a Missouri winter; that the men who met the enemy at Carthage, at Oak Hill, at Fort Scott, at Lexington, and in numberless lesser battle fields in Missouri, and met them but to conquer them—that the men who fought so bravely and so well at Elkhorn—that the unpaid soldiery of Missouri, were, after so many victories, and after so much suffering, unequal to the great task of achieving the independence of their magnificent State.

Soldiers! I go but to mark a pathway to our homes. Follow me!

STERLING PRICE.

Saturday.—The address of the immortal Johnston, on the eve of the

great battle of Shiloh, omitted in the appropriate place, may be inserted here.

Corinth, Miss., April 3, 1862.

Soldiers of the Army of the Mississippi: I have put you in motion to offer battle to the invaders of your country. With the resolution and disciplined valor becoming men fighting as you are for all worth living or dying for, you can but march to a decisive victory over the agrarian mercenaries sent to subjugate and despoil you of your liberties, property and honor. Remember the precious stake involved; remember the dependence of your mothers, your wives, your sisters and your children on the result; remember the fair, broad, abounding land, the happy homes and ties that would be desolated by your defeat. The eyes and the hopes of eight millions of people rest upon you; you are expected to show yourselves worthy of your race and lineage—worthy of the women of the South, whose noble devotion in this war has never been exceeded in any time. With such incentives to brave deeds, and with the trust that God is with us, your Generals will lead you confidently to the combat, assured of success.

A. S. JOHNSTON,
General C. S. A.

Stonewall Jackson appeals for support in defending the beautiful Valley of Virginia.

Headquarters Valley District,
Near Mount Jackson, March 19, 1862.

The militia directed by the Governor's proclamation of the 10th instant, to rendezvous at Winchester, will, in consequence of that place being in possession of the enemy, assemble at Mount Jackson at the earliest possible moment.

As commanding general of this military district, I urge you not only to come forward immediately, but also to bring with you every musket and rifle within your reach, and dedicate them as well as yourselves to the service of our glorious Commonwealth, under whose fostering care we were blessed with happiness and prosperity, until Northern aggression forced upon us a war of devastation.

Our brethren in the Northern frontier counties are now groaning under the heel of despotism, their property torn from them without compensation, their rights as citizens of Virginia and of our Confederacy disregarded, their persons levied, and, without the form of law, both imprisoned and carried beyond the limits of the State. They look to you for liberation from the tyrant's grasp. Come with the firm and patriotic resolve to lay down your lives, if

need be, on the soil of your birth, to emancipate it and our loyal citizens from Northern thralldom.

A brave army is here waiting for you to rally around it, and swell its ranks with volunteers determined to serve for the war, and drive back an enemy who has dared to invade your homes for the purpose of subjugating not only yourselves, but your wives and children. Show the invader that you know how to die, but not be enslaved.

T. J. JACKSON,
Major General.

Sunday, April 20.—At Jackson, Miss., on business for the Government. The war has made large inroads upon the male population. There are some refugees here from Missouri and Tennessee. Col. Starke's cavalry regiment is encamped here. The several railroad connections make Jackson an important point in travel, particularly since the enemy have interrupted the Memphis road, and thrown the travel through Mobile and Montgomery. Two hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers are established by the ladies.

News from New Orleans, that the Yankee fleet have thrown many thousand shells at the forts without damage, except to some of the wood-work, which does not impair the strength of the fortification.

Monday.—Nothing additional from New Orleans. President Davis sends a special message to Congress, in which he offers heartfelt tribute to the services and memory of the lamented Johnston:

My long and close friendship with this departed chieftan and patriot, forbid me to trust myself in giving vent to the feelings which this sad intelligence has evoked. Without doing injustice to the living, it may safely be asserted that our loss is irreparable, and that among the shining hosts of the great and good who now cluster around the banner of our country, there exists no purer spirit, no more heroic soul than that of the illustrious man whose death I join you in lamenting.

In his death he has illustrated the character for which through life he was conspicuous, that of singleness of purpose and devotion to duty. With his whole energies bent on attaining the victory which he deemed essential to his country's cause, he rode on to the accomplishment of his object, forgetful of self, while his very lifeblood was fast ebbing away. His last breath cheered his comrades to victory. The last sound he heard was

their shout of triumph. His last thought was his country, and long and deeply will his country mourn his loss.

Tuesday.—Now, indeed, may we expect to see the whole military power of the Confederacy brought into action, and under the most perfect organization. The volunteer system is inadequate to the crisis. The struggle has reached dimensions which requires that ALL shall be engaged and none should have the option of remaining home. Men above thirty-five and under eighteen in thousands and hundreds of thousands will swell the armies of the Republic should the necessity arise.

Wednesday.—On a visit to Vicksburg. The overflow has covered most of the lower part of the city, and the Mississippi is higher than for many years, and still rising. Great injury must result to the plantations above and below, but most probably the subsidence of the waters will be in time for the grain crops. Visit the hospitals, which are splendid structures and are admirably managed. Many army patients are under treatment, including the wounded from Shiloh. These hospitals, on a pinch, could accommodate 5 or 600, or even more. Vicksburg has acted with great spirit and liberality, and her ladies are foremost in the work.

Martial law is proclaimed and order reigns in the city. Would to God that the dram shops, which are now closed, could remain so until the end of time, here as elsewhere.

Gen. Duncan, commanding at the forts below New Orleans, telegraphs: "God is certainly protecting us; we are cheerful, and have an abiding faith in our ultimate success. 25,000 thirteen-inch shells have been fired by the enemy, thousands of which have fallen in the fort. They must soon exhaust themselves—if not, we can stand it as long as they can."

There are no defences at Vicksburg, and if the enemy reaches here immediately he cannot be resisted.

Thursday.—Telegram that some of the Federal gunboats have passed our forts, creates the most profound impression, and gives rise to a thousand rumors in regard to the fate of New Orleans.

Friday.—Great excitement everywhere, and, of course, the most exaggerated rumors. It is yet uncertain if the enemy's ves-

sels have reached New Orleans, and what reception they will meet with. A special train reaches Jackson this afternoon with the specie of the New Orleans banks. It is to be sent into the interior.

Saturday.—Converse with persons just from New Orleans, who left yesterday. Our gunboats have engaged the enemy and been destroyed. The forts still hold out. It is reported on high authority that the Federal ships are at the city, and that Commanding General Lovell refuses to surrender, but will consent to capitulate. Decision not reached. Some indication that the vessels may be boarded and captured at the levee. Heaven grant that this noble spirit may fire our people, and that the humiliation of a surrender without a blow may not be ours. Even with the loss of New Orleans and of the entire river, and all upon it, the cause of Southern independence will be very far from desperate, if our people are truly in earnest and will do their whole duty as men and patriots. A great interior army of half a million of men must yet be vanquished. It never can be.

An accident of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad last night killed or seriously injures many of our soldiers from South Carolina.

Later in the day it is confidently asserted in many quarters that despatches have crossed the wires to the effect that the military authorities refuse to surrender the city, and that four days are allowed to remove the women and children, when a bloody and desperate struggle will take place. Glorious if true. With such an exhibit of spirit and daring, New Orleans will be retained, though in ruins. Better that it should be laid waste by the enemy a thousand times than be ignominiously surrendered.

Sunday.—The worst is realized. New Orleans is in the power, if not the possession, of the enemy. His fleet is at the levee, and the military authorities have evacuated. The surrender will be made by the civil authorities. The forts, it is thought, still hold out, but cannot do so long. Our gunboats of every kind are destroyed by the enemy, or by ourselves. General Twiggs, and a number of others, reach Jackson from the city. They represent the utmost disorder and confusion prevail-

ing—everything without a head. The archives and money of the Sub-Treasury are here in charge of Mr. Guirot, who has taken an office in the State House. Our troops and the Commanding General will reach here soon. This is the darkest hour of our trials and our peril, but the path of duty is still clear.

Before evacuating, the troops destroyed the cotton at New Orleans, and brought off commissary, quarter-master and ordnance stores, but to what extent is unknown.

The general feeling is, that our cause in the Southwest has been disgracefully lost.

Monday.—Many fugitives from New Orleans reach Jackson. Communication is still kept open. Points have arisen with regard to the surrender of the city which exhibit the highest degree of patriotism on the part of the citizens and authorities. The following correspondence has taken place:

U. S. Flag-Ship Hartford,
April 26, 1862.

To His Excellency

The Mayor of New Orleans:

Sir: Upon my arrival before your city, I had the honor to send to your Honor, Capt. Bally, United States Navy, second in command of this Expedition, to demand of you the surrender of New Orleans to me as a representative of the Government of the United States. Capt. Bally reported the result of the interview with yourself and the military authorities. It must occur to your Honor that it is not within the province of a naval officer to assume the duties of a military commandant. I come here to reduce New Orleans to the obedience of the laws of, and to vindicate the offended majesty of, the Government of the United States.

Rights of persons to property shall be secured. I therefore demand of you as its representative an unqualified surrender of the city, and that the emblem of the sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the City Hall, Mint and Custom House, by meridian, this day.

All flags or other emblems of sovereignty, other than those of the United States, must be removed from public buildings by that hour.

I particularly request that you shall exercise your authority to quell disturbances, restore order, and call upon all good people of New Orleans to return at once to their vocations. And I particularly demand that no person shall be molested in person or

property, for professing sentiments of loyalty to their government.

I shall speedily and severely punish any person or persons who shall commit such outrages as were witnessed yesterday—of armed men firing upon helpless men, women and children for expressing their pleasure at witnessing the old flag.

I am, very respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT,
Flag Officer Western Gulf Squadron.

Mayor's Office, City Hall,

New Orleans, April 26, 1862.

Flag Officer D. G. Farragut,

U. S. Flag-Ship Hartford:

Sir: In pursuance to a resolution which he thought proper to take, out of regard for the lives of women and children, who still crowd this great metropolis, General Lovell has evacuated it with his troops, and restored back to me the administration of its government, custody and its honor. I, however, in concert with the city Fathers, considered the demand you made of me yesterday, of an unconditional surrender of the city, coupled with a requisition to hoist the flag of the United States on our public edifices, and to haul down the one that floats to the breeze from the dome of this Hall, it becomes my duty to transmit to you an answer which the universal sentiment of my constituency, no less than the promptings of my own heart, dictate to me on this sad and solemn occasion.

The city is without means of defence, and utterly destitute of force and material that might enable it to resist the overpowering armament displayed in sight of it. I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond the municipal laws of the city. It would be presumptuous for me to attempt to lead an army to the field if I had one at command, and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place held as this is, at the mercy of your guns' mouths and your mortars. To surrender such a place were an idle and unmeaning ceremony.

The city is yours by power—brutal force—not by any choice or consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what will be the fate that awaits her. As to hoisting any flag other than the flag of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you, sir, that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be palsied at the mere thought of such an act. Nor could I find, in my entire constituency, so wretched and desperate a renegade as would dare to profane with his hands the sacred emblem of our aspirations.

Sir, you have manifested sentiments which would become you, if engaged in a better cause than that to which you here devoted your sword. I doubt not but that they spring from a noble though deluded nature, and I know how to appreciate emotions which inspired them. You will have a gallant people to administer during your occupation of this city—a people sensitive to all that can in the least affect dignity and self-respect. Pray, sir, do not allow them to be insulted by any interference such as would render themselves odious and contemptible by their dastardly desertion of the mighty struggle in which we are engaged; nor such as might remind them too painfully that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without resort to measures which could not fail to wound their susceptibilities and fire up their passions.

The obligations which I shall assume in their name shall be religiously complied with. You may trust their honor, though you ought not to count on their submission to unmerited wrong.

In conclusion, I beg you to understand the people of New Orleans. While unable at this moment to prevent your occupying the city, they do not transfer allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they deliberately repudiated; and that they yield simply obedience which conquerors are enabled to extort from the conquered.

Respectfully,

JOHN T. MONROE, Mayor.

Tuesday.—The fugitives still arrive, crowding every nook and corner of Jackson, and much distress results. Women and children are almost without place of refuge. The hotels are crowded beyond their capacity, and many sleep in the halls and piazzas.

The following from a New Orleans paper, gives an account of recent events in that city:

Our Great Disaster and Humiliation.—Yesterday New Orleans was subjected to the most terrible humiliation and degradation which have ever fallen upon a brave and true people. After a valiant defence, by our forts below the city—after exhausting all our resources and skill—the greater resources on water of the enemy enabled them to pass our exterior fortifications with their large fleet, and they approached the city with a squadron of fifteen of their largest vessels, all steamships, gunboats and mortar vessels. There was a large force of land troops in the city, but of what avail were they against

the ships and gunboats of the enemy? At the moment it was announced that the ships had passed the forts, it became evident to all reflecting persons that the city was defenceless. Steps were then taken to render it a barren conquest. By order of the Governor and military authorities, all the Government munitions and stores were sent away. Such material of war as could not be removed was destroyed. Orders were also issued to destroy all the cotton in this city. This was done. The troops under the command of Gen. Lovell were marched to the interior lines of the city, a few miles below; these lines would have been formidable against an army advancing by land; but the batteries near the river were quite weak and ineffective against the ships, especially in the present stage of the river, the high surface of the water enabling them completely to command the surrounding country. In the condition of affairs it was quite obvious that the enemy's fleet would meet with no serious obstacle in passing up the river. Accordingly it was announced at an early hour that they were coming. Their vessels came up slowly, as if feeling their way—the Hartford, the flag-ship of Gen. Farragut, leading. Then followed the Brooklyn, the Richmond, and nine other ships, big and little. As these ships approached the batteries about six or seven miles below the city, our artillerymen opened upon them from both sides of the river, but as the guns were only 24s, they produced but little effect. The ships replied with several broadsides, which showed that they completely commanded our batteries. The batteries, though manned by unpractised gunners, kept up the fire for some time, but with no effect, and under such discouraging circumstances as to render it an obvious policy to withdraw the gunners and the troops; the batteries were accordingly abandoned, and the troops were marched to the Jackson Railroad. In the meantime the hostile squadron steamed up the river. A terrible and melancholy spectacle was presented to the victorious ships. The whole levee, for miles, was wrapped in smoke, from the burning cotton and gun carriages, which the authorities had ordered to be consumed. In the river were many hulls of burning ships, the debris of our fleet and of the merchant vessels and steamers which contained cotton.

The squadron proceeded up the river, the great multitude clustered on the levee looking on in disgust and horror at the dismal spectacle. As they passed, a few shots were fired by some of our soldiers, but without orders. The ships did not

reply, but proceeded slowly along our levee. A feeble cheer was raised on board of one of the ships, which was responded to by something like a cheer from a few persons in the crowd. The cheers, whether intended as such or not, drew upon the parties suspected of giving them some dozen or so of pistol shots, by which several persons were wounded. The squadron being advanced, the foremost ship, as far as the Fourth District, came to an anchor—the ships to the number of thirteen taking up positions in front of the city, so as to command the several streets. After remaining in this position for a half hour, a boat came ashore with two officers, one Capt. Bayleis, second in command of the squadron, Capt. Farragut being flag-officer, and a lieutenant. These officers were greeted on touching the shore with the most uproarious huzzas for "Jeff Davis and the South," and with the most threatening demonstrations. They had neglected to bring a flag of truce, and it was a proof of the good sense of even an infuriated multitude that they were allowed to land. They, however, proceeded under the protection of some gentlemen, who undertook to conduct them to the Mayor's office, in a drenching rain, followed by a furious and excited mob. Though no violence was offered to the officers, certain persons, who were suspected of favoring their flag and cause, were set upon with great fury and very roughly handled. On arriving at the City Hall, it required the intervention of several citizens to prevent violence being offered to the rash ambassador of an execrated dynasty and Government.

The Mayor received the Federal officers in his office, with proper dignity. Capt. Bayleis stated the purport of his mission. He had been sent by Capt. Farragut to demand the surrender of the city, and the elevation of the flag of the United States over the Custom House, the Post Office, the Mint, and the City Hall. The Mayor replied that he was not the military commander of the city—that he had no authority to surrender it, and would not do so, but that there was a military commander now in the city, and he would send for him, to receive and reply to the demand.

A messenger was despatched to General Lovell. In the interval a number of citizens who were present got into conversation with the U. S. naval officers. The Lieutenant seemed to be a courteous, well behaved gentleman, who bore testimony with apparent earnestness to the vigor and valor of the defence of our forts, and was quite communicative. The senior officer

was more reserved, but still more large professions of peaceful intents. It was difficult, however, for him to conceal the bitter sectional hate of a Massachusetts man against a true Southern community. In the course of the conversation, however, this officer remarked that Capt. Farragut deeply regretted to see the spirit of incendiarism which prevailed in the city in the destruction of cotton and other things. The Mayor remarked that he differed with him; that the destruction was our own property, and did not concern outsiders. Capt. Bayleis replied that it looked like biting off one's nose to spite his face. The Mayor replied that we had judged differently.

After awhile, General Lovell arrived in front of the City Hall, and was greeted with loud cheers by the crowd outside. On entering the Mayor's office, Capt. Bayleis introduced himself as second in command of the U. S. Squadron in front of the city. Gen Lovell replied, "I am Gen. Lovell, of the army of the Confederate States, commanding this department." The officers then shook hands, and Capt. Bayleis stated his mission, to demand the surrender of the city, and the elevation of the U. S. flag over the Custom House, Mint and Post Office—adding that he was instructed by Capt. Farragut to state that he came to protect private property and personal rights, and especially not to interfere with the negro property.

Gen. Lovell replied that he would not surrender the city, nor allow it to be surrendered; that he was overpowered on the water by their superior squadron, but that he intended to fight them on land as long as he could muster a soldier; that he had marched all his armed men out of the city; that he had evacuated it; and if they desired to shell the town, destroying women and children, they could do so. That it was to avoid this he had marched his troops beyond the city limits, but that a large number even of the women of the city had begged him to remain and defend the city even against shelling. He did not think he would be justified in doing so. He would, therefore, retire and leave the city authorities to pursue what course they should think proper. Capt. Bayleis said that no such purpose was entertained by Capt. Farragut, reiterating the expression of his regret at the destruction of cotton. Gen. Lovell interrupted him by saying that it was done by his authority. Capt. Bayleis said that he had no doubt that Gen. Lovell had done his duty, and that they were doing theirs. It was then concluded that Capt. Bayleis and the other officers would return to their ships, and

the Mayor would call the Council, and lay before it the demand of Capt. Farragut. The officers requested to be protected in their return to their ships, and Gen. Lovell directed Col. Lovell and Major James to accompany them. The officers accordingly proceeded to the rear of the City Hall, where they took a cab and proceeded to the wharf. During the interview, an immense and excited crowd of people had congregated about the City Hall, who alternately hurrahed for Jeff. Davis, for Gen. Lovell, and most vigorously groaned for "Lincoln and his squadron."

To calm this multitude, Pierre Soule addressed them in a few eloquent and effective words, counseling moderation, self-possession, fortitude and confidence in their cause, declaring that the honor of the Government and city was in safe hands, and that Gen. Lovell's answer to the demand to surrender was worthy of the commander of a brave people.

Gen. Lovell, on appearing on the steps, was also loudly cheered. He addressed the multitude, in a short speech, declaring his purpose not to surrender the city, but to retire with his army and fight the Lincolnites, whom they could always whip on land. He briefly sketched his course in the preparation of the defence of the city. Had done all he could do with the means at his disposal. That he came here six months too late, and it was beyond his resources to contend successfully against the enemy's power on water.

He advised the citizens to bear themselves manfully—never to stop or submit to the Lincoln domination, and to wait with patient fortitude for the deliverance from bondage which must soon come to them. The General then mounted his horse, and accompanied by his staff, rode to the Jackson Railroad, where he took the last car, having already sent his army ahead of him.

Wednesday.—Rumors of a great battle at Yorktown, and a glorious success for our arms, but they are not credited. A despatch to Governor Pettus from General Lovell announces that on account of a mutiny in the garrison the forts at New Orleans have surrendered. The enemy has now every obstruction removed to his triumphant advances on the Mississippi and its tributaries. The hour grows darker and darker. Manhood seems departing from our people.

Thursday.—Trains still arrive from New Orleans. The civil authorities refuse to strike their flag, but require the enemy to do it. Their attitude is high and chivalrous. The

ladies request the authorities to hold out, and let the enemy shell and destroy the city. The following demand was made on Tuesday :

U. S. Flag-Ship Hartford,
At anchor off the City of New Orleans,
April 28, 1862.

To His Honor the Mayor and City Council
Of the City of New Orleans :

Your communication of the 28th inst. has been received, together with that of the City Council.

I deeply regret to see both by their contents, and the continued display of the flag of Louisiana on the Court House, a determination on the part of the city authorities not to haul it down. Moreover, when my officers and men were sent on shore to communicate with the authorities, and to hoist the United States flag on the Custom House, with the strictest order not to use their arms unless assailed, they were insulted in the grossest manner, and the flag which had been hoisted by my orders on the Mint was pulled down and dragged through the streets.

All of which go to show that the fire of this fleet may be drawn upon the city at any moment, and in such an event the levee would in all probability be cut by the shells, and an amount of distress ensue to the innocent population, which I have heretofore endeavored to assure you that I desired by all means to avoid.

The election, therefore, is with you. But it becomes my duty to notify you to remove the women and children from the city within forty-eight hours, if I have rightly understood your determination.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT,

Flag Officer Western Gulf Blockading Squadron.

The Mayor convened the City Council, and we learn it was decided by them not to recede from their position, and the Louisiana flag still floats proudly to the breeze.

Friday.—Preparations are being made to defend Vicksburg. Cannon are sent from Jackson and troops, and a large force is at work upon the fortifications above and below the city.

Some of the enemy's transports have reached New Orleans with troops.

Saturday and Sunday.—Make the trip from Jackson, Miss., to Mobile. Trains crowded, and much irregularity and discomfort. Mobile much deserted, but not without hope. Enemy's fleet soon expected, but the city will make a vigorous defence. The people speak with great determination.

Editorial Notes.

The following was written immediately after the fall of New Orleans, and was intended for the May number of the Review. It was but the echo of feelings awakened by that startling event. The darkest hour of the republic had come—the time indeed to “try men’s souls!” The clouds have since then, been rolling away, and now, thanks to a just and overruling God, daylight, glorious daylight, with its meridian sun, lights up every hill and valley of the Confederacy. Events at Richmond, at Vicksburg, in Tennessee and Kentucky, exhibit the unconquerable spirit of our people, and demonstrate their fitness for the liberties which they have already practically won. The blows have but to be followed up thick and fast.

Since the issue of our last number the arms of the Confederacy have sustained many severe disasters and reverses, and whilst the enemy has been greatly emboldened and taught to believe the day of his final triumph near at hand, the effect upon our own people is to arouse them to the highest pitch of ardor and enthusiasm. In every State of the Confederacy volunteers are flocking to the field, and the entire male population put upon a war footing, stands ready and eager to meet the foe. The cry to arms swells up on every breeze and echoes from every hillside. It meets a response in every bosom. None so old or so young as not to answer, and no craven spirit appears to suggest a doubt. Woman performs her mission still. Her smiles are for the brave, her scorn for the timid. In tears, but with prayers and blessings, she sends forth son, lover or husband, and glories in the part they are to take in maintaining the liberties and honor of their country! Can a people so nerved and stimulated ever be vanquished and enslaved? All history must then be a lie. What though our armies are at times beaten and compelled to fall back—what if our cities are taken—with all the interior, vast as it is, in our possession, and with a million of men in arms, or capable of bearing arms, can the

cause be regarded forlorn? Liberty and independence are never won without great sufferings and sacrifices. It has been our fault not to appreciate until now the vastness of the struggle, and not to provide sufficiently for it. As yet we have suffered little. Our revolutionary fathers endured ten times as much, and never faltered or doubted. The darkest hour of the old revolution, preceded but a few months its glorious termination. The world was again taught the lesson that freemen who do their whole duty can never be enslaved. Tyrants and usurpers require the lesson still to be repeated. Let us meet the crisis. The contest may be protracted, even years may elapse, years of trial and sorrows and losses, but the hour of deliverance, of safety and freedom, will with God’s blessing, at last come. In this faith let every man of us set his house in order, and strike and strike on harder and quicker till the infamous invader be repelled from our fair domain, and the land again smile with peace, prosperity and liberty. In the burning words of one of our poets, Henry Timrod, of South Carolina:

Ho! woodsmen of the mountain side!
Ho! dwellers in the vales!
Ho! ye who by the chafing tide,
Have roughened in the gales!
Leave barn and byre, leave kin and cot,
Lay by the bloodless spade,
Let desk, and case and counter rot,
And burn your books of trade!

The despot roves your fairest lands,
And till he flies or fears,
Your fields must grow but armed hands,
Your sheaves be sheaves of spears!
Give up to mildew and to rust
The useless tools of gain;
And feed your country’s sacred dust
With floods of crimson rain!

Come with the weapons at your call,
With musket, pike or knife:
He wields the deadliest blade of all
Who lightest holds his life.
The arm that drives its unbought blows
With all a patriot’s scorn,
Might brain a tyrant with a rose,
Or stab him with a thorn!

We have had enough of foreign nations, and know that their sympathies are with neither of the great combatants, who are struggling on this side of the Atlantic. The North they heartily despise and hate. The institutions of the South find no favor with them. Their policy is to look on, and see either side wasted and destroyed, so that a

great rival be entirely removed. They do not think a reconstruction of the old Union practicable, and believe the separation final. The blockade, though contrary to the laws of nations, and maintained in spite of recently declared public law, has harmed them, so far, very little. Interest has therefore dictated inaction. Circumstances however must change that policy. When the entire stock of our staples is exhausted, and wide-spread ruin stares their manufacturing interests in the face, and when the success of the Federal arms seem to threaten reconstruction, we may imagine a new state of things abroad. Courts and ministers will hold a different language. We have but to fight and watch and wait. This was the opinion of Mr. Yancey when just returned from Europe, and with whom we had frequent conversations. We may recall our ministers if we please. European policy will be determined by its own interests and necessities, and not by our diplomacy. The time for recognition, and perhaps intervention, is near at hand, as dictated by those necessities. We may expect it any day.

There is no union party and no peace party in the Confederacy. The Yankees have been taught this by their recent successes on Roanoke Island, on the shores of North Carolina, and on the Cumberland and Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers. We have traitors and tories, it is true, but not so many as in the Revolution. Those who once hesitated are now confirmed, and believe that nothing is left to the people of the South but independence, or degradation and suffering beyond that with which any free people have been visited in ancient or modern times.

Congress has acted wisely in requiring all the cotton and tobacco in the Confederacy to be burned when in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. This is legitimate warfare, and must tell upon this contest. By destroying arms and provisions and towns we gain little or nothing. These they have without stint. Cotton and tobacco are specie—gold and silver. We had as well surrender the coffers of our banks into their hands as these. They are more than specie. They are the levers with

which the enemy can move courts and cabinets at their will. If the great staples of the South are to become the instruments of our subjugation, "let us have no more of them."

The planters everywhere responded to the appeal of Gen. Beauregard, and their bells were torn down to be fashioned into cannon. Even the churches are active in this pious work, and scarcely a chime will be heard again in our towns and villages, should the necessity continue. Already many large cathedrals have answered to the call, and all the lesser ones are preparing to follow. We shall have enough. Iron too will not be wanting. Every householder will part with his kitchen utensils, his bolts and bars, and iron railings, and every merchant with his iron safe. They are but paltry sacrifices, but they will not be needed. The people hold nothing so sacred as to be reserved in the hour of their country's need. The following beautiful lines express the sentiment which is abroad:

Melt the Bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells;
Still the tinkling on the plain,
And transmute the evening chimes
Into war's resounding rhymes,
That the invader may be slain
By the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
That for years have called to prayer,
And instead the cannon's roar
Shall resound the valleys o'er,
That the foe may catch despair
From the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
Though it cost a tear to part
With the music they have made
Where the ones we loved are laid,
With pale cheek and silent heart,
'Neath the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
Into cannon, vast and grim,
And the foe shall feel the ire
From its heaving lung of fire,
And we'll put our trust in Him
And the bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells:
And when the foes are driven back,
And the lightning-cloud of war
Shall roll thunderless and far,
We will melt the cannon back
Into bells.

Melt the bells, melt the bells,
And they'll peal a sweeter chime,
And remind of all the brave
Who have sunk to glory's grave,
And will sleep thro' coming time
'Neath the bells.

Memphis, Tenn.

F. Y. R.

The following, which we take from the Richmond Whig, cheered up the hearts of our people when despondency was resulting from the successes of the enemy. It taught us what our ancestors had endured without once faltering in their glorious path, and how to imitate their noble example. Now as then, there have been times to try men's souls, in which "sunshine patriots" "shrink from the service of the country."

In the gloom which follows our recent reverses, we turn to the great example of our ancestors in a struggle very similar to that in which we are engaged, in its origin as well as its incidents.

The war of the Revolution was one in which the disparity of the contending powers was far greater than at present. The British had every advantage that numbers, experience in warfare and unlimited resources could give them. The colonists were in awe of the superior skill and force of their enemies. They were almost without artillery, their small arms were of the most indifferent description, and insufficient for their troops. Their armies were badly clad and badly provided with stores. They were enlisted for very short terms, and therefore badly disciplined and drilled. The people of every colony were more or less divided in opinion as to the rightfulness of the contest, and some, as New York, furnished as many troops to one side as the other.

The course of the contest was sufficient to have discouraged any but the most resolute natures.

The British had taken months for the most elaborate preparation to subdue the colonies. They were supreme by sea. General Washington had concentrated his forces at New York. He had 27,000 men. The enemy had 24,000. He undertook to defend Long Island, upon which he erected defences and stationed troops. The British landed troops, turned his left flank, routed his army, and captured 2,000 men. The remainder were fortunate enough to escape to the mainland.

The American army was then, in great part, withdrawn from the city, but such was the terror inspired by the superior military skill attributed to the British, that the force stationed for the defence of a water battery fled from the bombardment of the enemy, and two brigades sent to their aid were so infected with panic, that they retreated without firing a gun or seeing the enemy, and in spite of the remonstrances of Gen. Washington and their own officers.

New York was then abandoned, with the loss of all of our artillery, much of our army stores, provisions, tents, etc.

The American army behaved better at White Plains. But it was pursued by other disasters. Fort Washington—rather against the advice of Gen. Washington—was defended. The garrison made a gallant defence, killing several hundred Hessians; but the British advanced in three columns, and drove the garrison within the fort, where it surrendered. The British captured two thousand five hundred men, with military stores, and a strong position. This was considered the greatest calamity of the war. Fort Lee fell next—the troops were withdrawn, but all the armament and supplies, including three hundred tents, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The effect of these blows, falling with such weight and rapidity, was intense. The historian says the troops quitted the army "by regiments, half regiments, and companies." General Washington crossed into the Jerseys,

into which he was followed by a victorious enemy. He then headed an army of only three thousand men besides some detachments under Lee and others.

New Jersey yielded without resistance, and no one who looked on the "ragged" handful of Americans, as they retreated before the superior force of the disciplined and well appointed army which pursued them, could doubt that "the contest approached its termination."

It is unnecessary to follow the narrative of reverses, which ought to be read by every one, and republished for the inspection of the people.

Washington, undismayed, turned in his celebrated night march across the Delaware, captured 1,000 men, with arms and stores, and returned in safety. But nothing else occurred for months to break the current British successes. Their army embarked in the next campaign, and for weeks Washington was ignorant of their destination. To avoid the forts which he had erected on the Delaware, they had ascended the Chesapeake, to march overland upon Philadelphia. Washington, who had again recruited his temporary army, resisted their advance at Brandywine. Here leaving a force to threaten the fords in front, the enemy made a "detour and turned our right flank." The Americans, after a short resistance, withdrew. Washington made yet another stand to save Philadelphia; but a violent rain so completely drenched his men, that their "whole stock of ammunition was rendered unfit for use," and the army was compelled to fall back. It is stated that at this time there were scarcely two guns of the same calibre in the army. One regiment reviewed ninety muskets and seven bayonets.

Our night attack on Germantown was a failure, and the enemy held Philadelphia without further molestation. Their next object was to open the Delaware. Washington wished to preserve his forts. We strengthened, and threw men into them. The enemy were repulsed in a land attack on one of them. Then they brought their ships to bear, and "shelled" the forts until they were no longer tenable, and were abandoned. Washington seemed never afterwards to have resisted the British on the water, or near the water—if we except the surrender of Cornwallis. The British were supreme on that element. In his own words: "To protect the coast from an enemy entirely in possession of the sea is impracticable."

But Washington never disbanded his army, and his victories were chiefly in the interior, where the enemy was compelled to pursue him on their theory of subjugation.

We look with apprehension upon the numerous expeditions of the enemy. How was it with the invasion of our ancestors? A large British army held New York and the Jerseys. Another lay unmolested at Philadelphia. An expedition, under Burgoyne, came in from Canada. To the consternation of all, Ticonderoga—reported impregnable—fell, its capture due in great part to the shipping which accompanied Burgoyne. Our stores and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. Another expedition advanced from the Canadian border. It was composed of loyalist Canadians, with a large force of Indians. Yet Burgoyne was captured with his army, when he penetrated to the centre of New York, and the Indian expeditions came to naught.

We shall not at present take up the Southern campaign, to show Virginia invaded, her

capital occupied by the enemy, and Carolina and Georgia incapable of resistance. We only remind our readers that in the course of the war, New York and Philadelphia fell into the hands of the enemy, that Norfolk was burned, and Charleston and Savannah captured.

If it were within our limits to describe the condition of the army and country at that period, our readers would be astonished at the picture.

The Confederate treasury was without money or credit. The troops without arms, ammunition or clothes. The people without accumulated wealth or current supplies of the most necessary character. The country was divided in opinion. The temptations of safety and comfort were held out to the timid and mercenary. Threats of death and confiscation published against those who persisted.

Yet the approval of Providence, the resolute and unyielding resistance of the people, and a mode of warfare appropriate to the emergency, bore our ancestors triumphantly out of that most unequal and terrible strife.

When we review the present resources of our country, the many advantages which we possess, the infinitely greater difference between submitting to the hereditary rule of a distant government and the domination of present abolitionists, ignorant and vicious aliens, and the accumulated abomination which Northern wickedness will pour upon us—when we know that subjugation implies the confiscation of our property, with the deliberate extirpation of everything of which a Virginian is proud, and the substitution of all he has been taught to apprehend and abhor—we see that, whilst our cause is far more hopeful than that of our ancestors, we have a thousand fold more motives to resist our infamous invader to an extremity of which the present condition of affairs happily affords no intimation.

The Yankees now reluctantly admit, though their lying official dispatches for some time taught to the contrary, that they were dreadfully handled at Richmond, and but for the able retreating qualities of their "Young Napoleon," who commanded, and who had previously announced "there were to be no more retreats," the whole army must have been annihilated or captured.

As it is we ought to be satisfied with the results. An overbearing, arrogant and merciless foe has been driven back from all of his laboriously planned fortifications and works, and caused to seek shelter and protection under his gunboats, far away from the scene of slaughter; and in his flight he has left behind him millions and millions of stores captured or destroyed, 50 to 75 pieces of artillery, about 30,000 small arms, and about 30,000 men killed, wounded or prisoners, in our hands. This was glory enough for one day or one week.

Meanwhile the policy of attack having been fully inaugurated, we may not expect the army of Richmond or that of

the West to slumber on their arms, but before even these lines can be seen, our readers will be familiar with aggressive movements on our part, which will carry terror into the hearts of the enemy, speedily redeem Maryland, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and bring the war nearer to the doors of the vandal hordes who have so ruthlessly compassed our annihilation. Their threatened reinforcements of 300,000 raw recruits alarm us no more than the 500,000 of an earlier call, but only inspires the higher determination in our people to bring out and keep in the field their entire strength.

The enemy is for the present checkmated in Mississippi and Virginia, and trembles in his shoes at Chattanooga, and throughout Tennessee. In Louisiana he is practically unable to move out of New Orleans and Baton Rouge, except in pilfering operations along the banks of the Mississippi. The Red River and the Yazoo are ours, and good use indeed will we make of them. In South Carolina Yankee pride has received a dreadful fall, and the fame of James Island, or, as the darkies call it, "Jim Island," looms up majestically.

It will gratify our readers to know that the very stringent blockade has not prevented us from receiving vast amounts of arms and ammunition, army and miscellaneous goods, within the past few weeks, from Europe, and that the prospect for the future is even brighter. The business is a much safer one than at previous times during the war, and risks are freely undertaken by underwriters. Prices to be sure among us are fabulously high, but this often is not so much the result of scarcity as rapacity in speculators. Such things must be borne for a while, however, and to do our people justice, they bear them heroically, and without a murmur. The glory of the cause swallows up everything else.

To-day it is stated that the Yankee fleet above and below Vicksburg has disappeared. Thus this gallant city has achieved a victory which is without parallel in history. What mortification does it awaken for the past, and what a lesson for the future.

Writing this at a point which has been within hearing of the guns for many weeks, our breast could but thrill with

joy. Immortal honor for the brave Van Dorn, Smith and Breckinridge, and their heroic followers!

Through a long and fiery ordeal Vicksburg has passed unscathed, scarce a dwelling destroyed, and scarce a dwelling which is not as inhabitable as when the bombardment opened. Let Mobile, Charleston and Savannah heed and profit by the example.

Though the enemy is in possession of New Orleans, it is but a thorn in his side, and he is as far as ever from the darling object of his ambition, the navigation of the Mississippi. This he will never have, and without it New Orleans is but a "barren sceptre in his grasp."

The question of Salt is a very exciting one throughout the Confederacy. Most of the States, however, possess salines, which need only intelligent industry to be developed. Many such exist in the upper parts of Louisiana and Alabama. At Charleston large quantities are daily produced, and will do much to satisfy the wants of the State. The Governor of Alabama is displaying the greatest energy, and offers to capital and labor such inducements as must push beyond contingency the supply for that State. Nearly every planter, however, can obtain a large yield by washing and evaporating the earth of his smoke-house. Prof. John LeConte, of Columbia, S. C., has made a report on the manufacture of salt, in which he describes the various methods to be adopted. He furnishes the following statistics:

Cost of Boiling.—Ordinary sea-water contains about 2½ per cent. of its weight of pure salt. Hence, it follows that 10,000 gallons contain a little more than 38 bushels of salt, of 56 pounds each. Assuming that 85 per cent. of this can be extracted by boiling, 10,000 gallons of sea-water will yield nearly 32½ bushels of salt. To boil down this quantity of sea-water will require the combustion of 7 1-3 cords of wood; that is, not quite 4½ bushels of salt to each cord of wood burnt. When the brine is weaker than ordinary sea-water, of course the yield will be proportionally smaller, and the operations more expensive. To obtain a good quality of salt, all the precautions in boiling indicated under the second method must be observed.

Congress at the last session authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to receive in kind articles that have been or may be subscribed to the Produce Loan, and deliver Confederate bonds for the same, at a fair valuation, whenever the

articles are necessary for the army, or can be made the basis of negotiation and credit.

The clause which relates to these subscriptions is as follows:

Sec. 3. The said Secretary is also authorized to accept, for the use of the Government, in exchange for the said bonds or stock, cotton, tobacco, and other agricultural products in kind, which have been subscribed to the Produce Loan, or which may be subscribed in kind, at such rates as may be adjusted between the parties and the agents of the Government: Provided, That in no event shall he receive of cotton or tobacco a greater value than thirty-five millions of dollars; and the said Secretary is further authorized to deposit the same at such places as he shall deem proper, and to procure advances thereon by hypothecation, or to ship the same abroad, or to sell the same at home or abroad, as he may deem best; and to assist these operations, the said Secretary may issue Produce Certificates, which shall entitle the party to whom issued, or his endorsee, to receive the produce therein set forth, and to ship the same to any neutral port, in conformity with the laws of the Confederate States.

Acting under instructions from the Secretary, the undersigned, as agent of the Government, in that section of the South hitherto tributary to New Orleans, has issued the following address:

Produce Loan Agency,

Jackson, July 15, 1862.

By directions from the Department at Richmond, notice is hereby given that subscribers of cotton and money to the Government Loan are required to comply immediately with the terms of their subscription.

The payments of this loan have been up to this date at the option of the subscriber—the suspension of the collection being allowed by the Department, in consequence of the low prices of produce, and a desire to facilitate the interest of both the subscriber and Government.

Holders of cotton can now dispose of it either to the Government or to private purchasers at FAIR and FULL prices, and it is urged that the subscribers will perform the obligation which is upon them, by the adoption of the one or the other of these alternatives, as speedily as possible.

The bonds of the Government are readily negotiable at par; draw interest from the date of the transaction, and are for sums of \$100, \$500 and \$1000.

If there was any patriotism in making, it will be exhibited in meeting the subscription, either by selling and paying over the proceeds, or by surrendering the article itself to the Government at a fair valuation.

Those who have not hitherto subscribed, may now offer their crops in the same manner.

The subscriber has established his office at Jackson, where he is ready to receive all subscriptions in money or in produce, and deliver the bonds.

Where crops are offered, state their locations, and the lowest price that will be taken, the planter to retain the custody of the same.

J. D. B. DeBOW.

Railroads of the Confederacy.

The Railroads of the Confederacy have most patriotically and efficiently contributed towards our great revolution; and without them it would have proved impracticable. At a recent convention of these roads, held at Richmond, Va., the following plan was adopted:

The plan adopted by the Convention to carry out the purposes of the Convention, is in substance as follows: It divides the railroads in the Confederate States into four districts, on the assumption that it would be impossible for such a vast number of interests to work together advantageously. The railroads in Virginia constitute one division; those East of the Savannah river, and south of Weldon, another; those south of Knoxville, east of the Tombigbee, and west of the Savannah river, another; and those West of Chattanooga and the Tombigbee, east of the Mississippi river, and south of Kentucky, another.

A central rolling mill is to be located in each division, with such machine shops and foundries as may be necessary; the capital requisite to put these works in operation to be subscribed and paid by the roads belonging to the respective divisions. The affairs of the rolling mills are to be managed by a Board of Directors in each division, consisting of the Presidents of the roads, and they are to locate the mills to the best advantage of the roads concerned—to fix the price of material and transportation—to select and appoint a General Superintendent for the works, and fix the capital necessary to carry out the scheme, and the manner of paying in the same. Each road and interest to furnish all the old material they can spare.

The second part of the plan is in substance as follows: In the event that the roads constituting either division should fail or decline to establish mills as above provided, the roads are pledged, if it shall be found necessary, to make advances to individuals or associations who will undertake to establish the same, to the extent and upon the basis hereinafter stated:

That any person or association who may establish and put in operation, within eight months after the 1st of January, 1862, a manufactory of railroad supplies, which shall be approved by the companies, they will contract to purchase of them annually, during the present war, and for a term of three years from the close of the war, such supplies as they shall manufacture, to the extent of the requirements of the several companies, for repairs, consumption, and equip-

ment, for the period named, at a price not greater during the continuance of the war than fifty per cent. upon the rates current for articles of like quality on the 1st of July, 1860; and after the close of the war an advance of not more than thirty per cent. upon the actual cost of transportation of similar articles at the same time of purchase, exclusive of import duties.

In addition, the Companies agree to make loans at six per cent. interest to individuals who establish such manufactories as may be approved of, to an extent not less than fifty nor more than seventy-five per cent. per mile of each of said roads, for a term not to exceed three years. The amount loaned to each individual to be determined by the roads, but not to exceed in the aggregate the above limitation. Manufactories so established to give the preference to roads who have loaned their capital.

The Presidents of Companies in the Convention pledge themselves to call together their Boards, and secure action upon the foregoing plan at an early day.

Several resolutions were adopted by the Convention, of which the following is the most important:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, it is of great importance to the defence of the Confederacy, that every facility should be extended to the development of the mineral wealth of the Confederate States; and as a large proportion of this wealth is now owned by alien enemies, an earnest application be made to the Confederate Congress to pass a law confiscating and selling the interests in the property so owned by alien enemies in the various mines of minerals, which will enable a Southern operator to work the same.

The report of J. B. Gladney, as Chairman of the Planters' Convention, has been received, and will furnish material for our next number. It discusses many subjects interesting to the planting community, and to the entire South.

The author, who is a citizen of North Carolina, living at Raleigh, favors us with a copy of an able pamphlet, entitled "Our Currency—some of its evils, and remedies for them." We shall refer to it at another time.

Mr. Joseph D. Pope, Confederate Tax Collector for South Carolina, places at our disposal a copy of his report in

pamphlet form, showing the operations in South Carolina. It is a very useful document, and one which exhibits much labor, and does great credit to that diligent and efficient officer. The total amount of property which contributes to the war tax in this State is as follows:

	Value.
9,052 lots and 16,687,232 acres	\$111,770,934
407,684 slaves	184,598,640
Merchandise	5,292,594
Bank stock	13,766,632
Railroad and other corporation stock	10,459,289
Money at interest	64,895,125
Cash on hand or on deposit	3,535,471
4,052 cattle, horses and mules	117,014
12,038 gold watches	852,273
Gold and silver plate	946,029
3,571 pianos	620,635
19,849 pleasure carriages	1,577,849
Stock not returned by corporations	1,036,313

Total amount of property and tax, \$399,468,798

Having made arrangements to publish the Review regularly in Columbia, S. C., at the Office of the South Carolinian, we are rejoiced again to appear in the presence of our old friends and patrons, and to announce to them the determination "never to give up the ship."

Will they stand by us whilst the flag floats?

More than half of our subscribers are

in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and in parts of other States held by the enemy, and to them, for some time to come, it may be our fate to be voiceless.

Shall not this stimulate and incite those who are in the "better land," on this side of Jordan, to be nearer and faster in their friendships?

To test this is the object of our present note.

With half a subscription list only, we must encounter double expenses.

There will be no difficulty, however, if every subscriber will, without even taking time to look up accounts, put his hand in his pocket, take out a five or a ten dollar note, and instantenvelope and direct it to

B. F. DeBOW,
Columbia, S. C.

The money will be credited. The Review will be regularly sent. Accounts will be adjusted hereafter, and the full equivalent received. There is no time to lose. Money is not scarce. It is plentiful all over the Confederacy.

LOUISIANA LANDS.

LAND DEPARTMENT, VICKSBURG, SHREVEPORT AND TEXAS RAILROAD.

The Government titles have been received for 350,000 Acres of Land, which enure to this Company under the Act of Congress granting Lands to the State of Louisiana, to aid in the Construction of Railroads, approved 3d June, 1856. These Lands lie in alternate sections along on either side of the Railroad, none of them being more than fifteen miles from it, reaching nearly across the State from east to west, in the heart of the cotton zone. A portion of them are Alluvial Lands, lying east of the Ouachita river, and are among the finest cotton lands in the world. Those in the vicinity of Bayou Macon, on the west bank, known as the "Bayou Macon Hill Lands," are entirely above overflow, lie well, have a good foundation, and may be relied on for something like a bale of Cotton per acre. They are rapidly appreciating, and planters are beginning to prefer them to the swamp lands, which require the protection of levees. West of the Ouachita is a pleasant country to live in, well watered and healthy, where the lands grow wheat and other grains well, and produce a better yield of Cotton than most of the high lands in the older cotton growing States.

These lands are now offered for sale at prices ranging from five to twenty dollars per acre, according to quality and location, upon terms of payment to suit purchasers. The lands are mortgaged to secure the payment of the bonds issued by the Company. When sold for cash, the mortgage will be cancelled, and a clear title given. When sold on credit, a payment of at least one-fourth part of the purchase money will be required at the time of sale, and, for the residue, the purchaser's notes will be taken, running one, two and three years, bearing eight per cent. interest from date, secured by a special mortgage in the act of sale binding the purchaser also to pay five per cent. attorney's fees, in the event it shall be necessary to sue on the notes. When the last payment is made, the Company's bond mortgage will be cancelled, as in the case of a cash sale.

The sales will be made here at the Company's Office, in Monroe, and the title passed before a Notary Public, at the expense of the purchaser; to which will be added one dollar to pay for cancelling the mortgage; and in case of a credit sale, outside of the parish of Ouachita, two dollars, to pay for recording the mortgage in the parish in which the land is situated.

If the purchaser cannot be present in person to accept the title, it will be sufficient, in case of a cash sale, for him to write a letter to some friend who may be present, requesting him to pay the money, and receive the title. But, in case the purchaser wants a credit on the land, he must be more particular, and give his agent a regular power of attorney, before a Notary Public, authorizing him to purchase and accept the title of the land, which must be described, and the price specified, to make the cash payment, sign the notes, and execute the mortgage to secure their payment.

Agents are employed examining the lands, and as fast as their returns are made, the price is set on every tract which has been applied for, and communicated to the applicant, and a reasonable time is given for his acceptance. But hereafter, when application shall be made for lands which shall have been examined, the price and terms will be stated for that day, and the land will not be suspended for the benefit of applicants, but we shall be free to vary the price or terms, or sell to others who may desire to purchase.

By the terms of the grant, the Company's title is perfected 20 miles in advance of every section of 20 miles of finished road; and ten years were given to complete the road. The title of the Company is thus, now, perfected to the land opposite to 40 miles of road; and another section of 20 miles will soon be added. A failure to complete the road within the time cannot affect the title of the lands sold by the Company, which, at the expiration of the time, namely, on the 3d day of June, 1866, shall be opposite to any portion of finished road, or opposite to a point 20 miles in advance of the finished road counting as before, in sections of 20 miles.

Monroe, Louisiana.

C. G. YOUNG, President.
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DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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